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NEW TIMES

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1986-INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

The Bolshevik call for peace was enthusiastically supported by the working people. This demonstration took place in Petrograd in 1917.

"Peace to the hovels, war to the palaces!" This slogan resounded in Russia in 1917 as a clarion call to the overthrow of the Kerensky government which stubbornly refused to take the country out of the world war. In it were combined the yearning of the masses for an end to the ordeals of war and the growing determination of the working people to throw off the age-old fetters of exploitation. It embodied the firm conviction of the Bolsheviks that it was imperative to turn the imperialist war into a civil war, their faith in the feasibility of a radical turn in the social destinies of the peoples.

October 26 (November 8, new style), 1917, 8.40 p.m. Lenin enters the session hall of the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. He is greeted with a storm of applause. His first words are of the urgent necessity of peace.

But the Bolsheviks saw that peace not as a stereotype copy of past political solutions. They formulated the principles of a **democratic** peace, a **just** peace, a peace, Lenin stressed, without annexations and without indemnities. True to the spirit of revolution, aware of the full significance of the new epoch humanity was entering, he called on the workers of the capitalist countries "to conclude peace successfully, and at the same time emancipate the labouring and exploited masses of our population from all forms of slavery and all forms of exploitation."

At 10.35 p.m. on that historic day the congress unanimously adopted the Decree on Peace. "Suddenly, by common impulse, we found ourselves on our feet, mumbling together into the smooth lifting unison of the Internationale," the American journalist John Reed recalled in his minute-by-minute account of that momentous event in his famous book "Ten Days That Shook the World."

The Decree on Peace was not a spur of the moment decision. The groundwork for it had been laid by the theoretical elaboration by Lenin and his comrades-in-arms of the problems of war, peace and the socialist revolution over many years. The Bolsheviks made the exclusion of wars from the life of mankind the cornerstone of their policy.

In full accord with this objective, the Decree on Peace incorporated new principles of interstate relations based on equality and respect for the sovereignty of all peoples, and called for a search for solution of interstate disputes and conflicts through equal negotiations. Thus, Lenin's Decree on Peace became the starting point of socialist foreign policy —a policy of peace and cooperation.

1917. Refusing to continue the war, the soldiers of the opposing armies fraternized on many sectors of the front.

For earlier instalments of this brief history of the anti-war struggle see our issues Nos. 1, 4, 6, 12, 14, 17, 21.

CALL FROM BUDAPEST

The Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee at its meeting in Budapest this week once again made a weighty contribution to the positive development of world affairs. The decisions of the supreme political body of the fraternal community of the socialist countries are fresh evidence of the untiring efforts of socialism for lasting peace in Europe and the world over.

At times one cannot but wonder where Europe, and the whole world for that matter, would be today if humanity lived according to the directives laid down in Washington or at NATO headquarters. Not long ago the Atlanticist sages did a dubious favour to Europe by their latest proposals for the further build-up of conventional armaments. Washington will take care of its nuclear arsenal, they say; for the Europeans it is time to occupy themselves with land forces, new tanks, new conventional armaments in general. Several new NATO programmes for the nineties have been put forward ostensibly aimed at strengthening the alliance by increasing the European contribution.

Europe deserves a better fate. The Warsaw Treaty countries adhere to a political concept altogether different from that of NATO, a concept that allots our continent an active role not in the arms buildup, but in overcoming the confrontation. The socialist countries have done their utmost to this end and will continue to do so in the future.

Addressing a meeting of engineering workers in Budapest on June 9, Mikhail Gorbachev said that in prolonging its unilateral moratorium the Soviet Union was taking a risk for the sake of peace. By its example our country urges the United States to follow suit and stop nuclear testing and then to seek agreement on their prohibition under a comprehensive and reliable system of verification. Regrettably, Washington has not done so. The signs are that it is determined to cling to its absurd, amoral and dangerous policy.

The Soviet Union will never treat the destinies of humanity lightly. It calls for a serious and responsible solution of the problem of war and peace. The Soviet approach is perfectly clear: a nuclear conflict must never be allowed to break out and nuclear weapons must be abolished. This stand is actively supported by the other socialist countries, witness the adoption in Budapest of a far-reaching political programme designed to give détente in Europe and throughout the world its "second wind."

Socialism is fully aware of the danger hanging over the world. All the greater, then, is its determination to safeguard peace.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

●

Washington's decision to consider itself no longer bound by the terms of the SALT-2 Treaty gives the green light to the piling up of armaments. In effect, it nullifies all that has been achieved to date in the sphere of disarmament. The U.S. is taking a dangerous road. I am convinced, however, that in this situation too the Soviet Union will be able to curb those who are brandishing the nuclear bludgeon.

Petko ATANASOV
Sofia, Bulgaria

●

There is no social justice in Italy and that means there is no democracy. Here are two glaring examples. Three million people in Italy are deprived of their inalienable right to work. There are hundreds of thousands of homeless, denied the right to housing simply because they cannot pay for it. Is that social justice! To be considered a free citizen of a democratic state it is not enough to vote every five years and be able to say "down with the government!" Freedom under capitalism means freedom to die of starvation and freedom to commit suicide when there is no other way out.

Romano COTTIVELLI
Cremona, Italy

●

It is terrible to see how indifferent people in our country are to the aggressive policy of NATO. This is partly due to the mass media, which deliberately misrepresent the role and character of the bloc. That is only natural, for the press is in the hands of the ruling classes. But today, when the nuclear potential is capable of destroying all life on our planet, people cannot afford to be passive bystanders. That should be clear to everyone.

Herbert KNOLL
Vienna, Austria

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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COVER by Y. Kurdenkov

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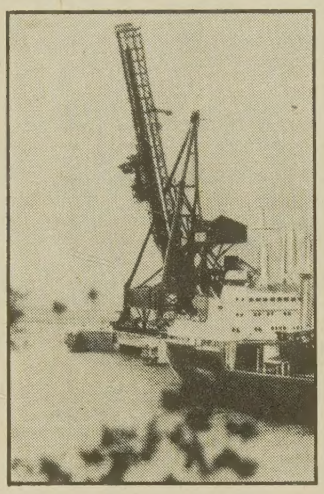

What tasks did the 27th CPSU Congress set the Soviet merchant fleet? What is the outlook for international shipping, which is presently in the throes of a protracted crisis? What is the explanation for the discriminatory measures in the West against the Soviet merchant fleet? These and other questions are answered by Timofei Guzhenko, Minister of the Merchant Marine of the U.S.S.R.

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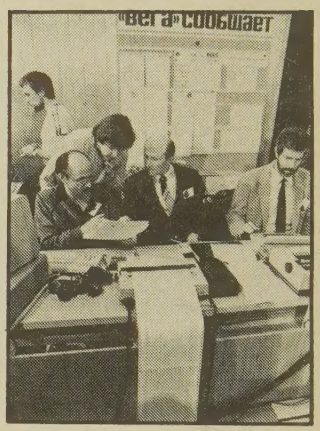

WORKING FOR PEACEFUL OUTER SPACE

A manned flight to Mars, the delivery to Earth of an asteroid, the development of giant space radiotelescopes, guidance from orbit of the movement of ships and aircraft, and permanent settlements on the Moon.... Today these are still dreams. But what about tomorrow? Will outer space be peaceful? What are the possibilities and prospects for international cooperation in orbit? This is discussed by deputy director of the Space Research Institute Vyacheslav Balebanov and cosmonaut Pyotr Klimuk.

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"FORGOTTEN DICTATORSHIP"

Until quite recently Paraguay where General Stroessner has been in the saddle for 32 years, was called the "forgotten dictatorship." The tyrant seemed to be firmly ensconsed in the presidential seat. But the acute economic crisis and the rapid growth of anti-dictatorship forces in the country are undermining the foundations of the regime. The White House is already looking for a replacement for Stroessner in the hope of repeating the "Haiti variant."

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THE SUMMITS OF COOPERATION

The building is there no longer. It has given way to new building developments in the Hungarian capital's industrial suburb of Csepel. In 1919 it housed Hungary's central radio station. On March 19 that year the station was taken over by the revolutionary workers and on March 22 the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic was announced from here to the world. The historic transmitter can be seen today in the Postal Museum in Budapest.

Let us return briefly to the events of that stirring time. In Moscow, in what was then called the Round Hall (now Sverdlov Hall) of the Kremlin the Eighth Congress of the Bolshevik Party was in session. At one point, the stenographic record tells us, the chairman suddenly interrupted the deliberations. Lenin handed to the Presidium a telegram just received from Budapest. It was read out and the hall was rocked by a stormy ovation and the delegates began singing the Internationale. The same day a message came from Csepel: "The Hungarian Soviet Republic would like to contact Comrade Lenin."

Twenty minutes later Moscow replied:

"Lenin at the transmitter. I would like to contact Comrade Bela Kun."

Thus Csepel entered the history of the great community of revolutionary peoples. At the time the Hungarian Soviet Republic could not withstand the onslaught of international reaction. But Lenin's prediction—"the first, which fell, will be followed by a second, which will be victorious"—came true.

Today on the site of the Csepel radio station there stands a splendid monument, a radio mast soaring skyward from a black marble block. On two sides of the pedestal are the texts of the telegrams Csepel and Moscow exchanged in 1919. Today the bond between Moscow and Budapest is symbolized not only by the marble of monuments. The friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Hungary is a living reality.

On June 8 CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in Budapest on a friendly visit. "This is a traditional visit," were his first words to newsmen awaiting him at the airport. And indeed, cooperation between our countries is a long-standing, tried and tested tradition.

In Budapest I interviewed the prominent scientist, President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Professor Ivan Berend who dwelt on his own field — science.

"We have been working together for 40 years now," he said. "And through all these years Hungary has been drawing on the scientific experience of your country and this has helped us to put Hungarian science on a new footing. Of the 10,000 researchers working in the scientific institutions of our academy, a large number have been trained in Soviet higher schools. Close ties have been established with many institutes of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and with Soviet scientific workers in general. Without cooperation with Soviet physicists there would be no Hungarian atomic power engineering, for instance.

"Besides the contacts that have been established, new forms of joint effort are being constantly considered. Now we are setting up joint Soviet-Hungarian research groups which work at both Soviet and Hungarian institutes. Two months ago a Hungarian-Soviet commission headed by Academicians Flyorov and Ferenc Marta was formed to coordinate joint research projects. Highly promising research is going on in agricultural uses of biotechnology."

"Do the two sides cooperate in space programmes as well?"

"Of course, they do. We are particularly proud of this cooperation. Hungarian scientists took an active part in the Veha programme. Our researchers designed for the probe its 'eyes,' so to say, and a third of its 'brain.' The equipment developed in Hungary worked very well and helped to take more than two million photographs of the comet, which are now being studied."

"What about cooperation in the economy?"

"Economic cooperation has given powerful impetus to the development of many branches of Hungarian industry within the framework of international division of labour. Soviet orders and the Soviet market offer us tremendous opportunities. Take, for instance, the Ikarus bus, which Hungary exports not only to the Soviet Union and other countries affiliated with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance but has begun to export to the United States and other Western countries as well. Hungary is now the sixth biggest manufacturer of buses in the world.

"I must note, however, that in this sphere too we must find new, more effective forms of cooperation. In my opinion the methods so far worked out and tested within the framework of CMEA no longer meet the requirements of the time. Agreements at government level are no longer enough. It is essential to develop direct links between enterprises, to heighten their interest in international cooperation, and at the same time to resolve complex problems relating to the market and price formation. We are still at the very beginning of the road. Here scientific research too should play its part."

The time indeed demands new approaches. It is all the more significant, then, that during the meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and Janos Kadar both sides evinced a readiness to update the means and methods of political and economic cooperation between our two countries. Preparations are under way for the prolongation after 1990 of major Soviet-Hungarian economic cooperation agreements, the introduction of new forms of this cooperation, and the establishment of direct ties between enterprises. The governments of the two countries will work towards this.

The consistent implementation of the CMEA Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress up to the year 2000 was also examined.

The tasks ahead are realistic, their magnitude notwithstanding. This was revealed again and again during Mikhail Gorbachev's visits to the Meriklon amalgamation where science is skilfully combined with agriculture, and to the Csepel engineering works. Addressing the Csepel workers he said:

"The countries of the socialist community have another factor making for their accelerated development which our Party proposes to utilize to a fuller extent. That factor is the pooling of experience in the building of socialism."

Director Istvan Erdei acquainted the guests with the history of the Works. Until several years ago it was part of a vast Csepel complex; now it is an "average-sized" enterprise employing 2,200 workers many of whom are women and young people. Seventy-five per cent of its output goes for export, and the Soviet Union accounts for 44 per cent of the export to other socialist countries. The Csepel workers, the director said, have long-standing ties with the Moscow grinding lathe works. The two plants exchange work teams every year, which spend about a month at each other's plants.

"I would like to tell you something that has a bearing on the talks Comrades Gorbachev and Kadar had yesterday," director Erdei said. "Some days ago we signed an agreement on direct

contacts with the Sergo Orjonikidze engineering works in Moscow. The Soviet NR-315 machine tool is to be equipped with a numerical control system. It will be used by our industries and will be sold on the markets of third countries."

The CPSU General Secretary gave a detailed evaluation of the international situation and dwelt on the latest initiatives of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries. And again it was as if everyone present was carried back to the sources of Soviet-Hungarian friendship when Gorbachev presented to the Csepel workers a painting depicting Lenin with the outstanding Hungarian revolutionary Tibor Szamuely on Red Square. It was to Szamuely that in 1919 Lenin handed his famous "Letter to the Hungarian Workers" which Szamuely took back to Budapest.

On June 9, Mikhail Gorbachev met with the workers of Csepel engineering works in Budapest.

Mikhail Gorbachev's meetings in Budapest were all the more significant for being logically linked with the deliberations of the Political Consultative Committee, the supreme political body of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, which took place at this time in the Hungarian capital. The peaceful domestic aims of the socialist community are inseparably connected with its peaceful foreign policy objectives. This is an incontrovertible fact, distasteful though it may be to certain quarters. Reuters, for instance, hastened to allege in one of its dispatches that the holding of the Political Consultative Committee meeting cast a shadow on the visit. This report drew a smile from my Hungarian colleagues.

"These gentlemen," one of them observed, "simply refuse to see that the relations within the Warsaw Treaty Organization are different from those among the Atlantic pact partners."

Your correspondent was received at the Foreign Ministry by Minister of State Gyula Horn.

"This is not the first time the Political Consultative Committee is meeting in Budapest, is it?"

"Of course not," Horn replied. "The leaders of our seven countries met here in 1969 and took some important decisions. The Budapest appeal to all European countries played an important role in the political life of the continent and still offers an example of how realistic and constructive is the policy of the Warsaw Treaty countries."

"What exactly do you have in mind?"

"The appeal speaks of the inviolability of the existing frontiers in Europe, including the Oder-Neisse border and the frontier between the F.R.G. and the G.D.R., as well as of the recognition of the existence of these two states."

"Now that is a reality recorded in the Moscow Treaty and confirmed in Helsinki."

"Of course. Already then, in Budapest in 1969, we proposed practical steps towards the convocation of an all-European conference. We said that there were no reasons for putting off that conference. You will recall how Western propaganda denigrated socialist diplomacy, claiming that we were engaging in fantasies, were remote from the reality, and that it all was just 'Red propaganda.' Today cooperation within the framework of the Helsinki understandings is an inseparable part of life in Europe and of international politics in general.

"I want to emphasize," Horn continued, "that cooperation in the spirit of Helsinki proved its worth at the most difficult times. But we should not close our eyes to the weaknesses of this process: we have been unable to extend détente to the military sphere. Yet there can be no détente in general without scaling down military tension, without putting an end to the arms race, both nuclear and conventional. Precisely this is the object of the political actions taken by the Warsaw Treaty countries. It should be borne in mind, however, that for the further strengthening of European security the will of the Warsaw Treaty countries is not enough. There must be the same understanding on the other side as well."

"Does that understanding exist?"

"I was in Washington recently and, frankly speaking, I must say I did not feel there was any desire to improve the situation in the sphere of disarmament. The U.S. refusal to abide by the SALT-2 treaty announced by Reagan has given a new spur to the arms build-up. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake not to see that the supporters of disarmament could find a response in West European political quarters, primarily from the Socialist and Social Democratic parties. It may be said that this is a new phenomenon on the international scene. Ten or fifteen years ago it would have been inconceivable, but today it is a fact."

"Are you taking into account also the growth of the anti-war movement?"

"Naturally. A tangible groundwork exists for broad agreements in regard to disarmament. The Warsaw Treaty is not a closed organization. We are open to proposals of any kind and are ready for direct contacts, including contacts with NATO. We are ready for negotiations also on such an important issue as a substantial reduction of conventional armaments in Europe, all the way from the Atlantic to the Urals. It is often said that distrust is the root of all trouble. But how is distrust to be overcome if not through negotiations at all levels? The Warsaw Treaty countries, acting in concert, are searching for avenues to such negotiations."

Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to the Hungarian capital is now over. Today the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee began its deliberations here. The decisions it adopted in 1969 are known as the Budapest appeal. Now it is again issuing a call from Budapest for peaceful labour, for a peaceful future.

L. BEZYMENSKY
Our Special Correspondent

Budapest, June 10

TASS photo

PROGRAMME PROPOSED BY THE WARSAW TREATY STATES TO THE NATO STATES AND ALL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES FOR REDUCING ARMED FORCES AND CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS IN EUROPE

Being aware of their responsibility to their peoples and humanity for the destinies of peace in Europe and the whole world, and guided by a desire to achieve a radical change for the better in the present complex international situation, the Warsaw Treaty member states hold that resolute action with specific measures towards ending the arms race, embarking on real disarmament and removing war menace is needed more now than ever before.

They support the Soviet Union's programme for complete elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction by the end of this century everywhere. They are convinced that an end to nuclear testing, with nuclear disarmament and prevention of an arms race in space, a ban and elimination of chemical weapons and other measures for disarmament would mean a safer peace for the European peoples and the nations of the whole world.

The allied states declare for a comprehensive approach to the issue of disarmament, for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction to be backed by a substantial reduction in armed forces and conventional armaments. Alongside ridding Europe of nuclear weapons, the matter of reducing armed forces and conventional armaments assumes particular acuteness for the present and future of the European continent where now the biggest groups of armed forces equipped with the latest weapons face each other. And some systems of conventional armaments are coming closer and closer to weapons of mass destruction in operational characteristics. The allied states declare in favour of definite measures in the sphere of nuclear disarmament, reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments to be accompanied by a corresponding lowering of the military expenditures of states.

Guided by these considerations, the Warsaw Treaty member states put forward to all other European countries, the United States and Canada these proposals which are a substantial addition to the programme for elimination of weapons of mass destruction. At the same time they have an independent character and their implementation would lower considerably the risk of war in Europe.

I

The Warsaw Treaty member states propose a substantial reduction in all components of the land forces and tactical strike aviation of the European states, as well as of corresponding forces and weapon systems of the United States and Canada deployed in Europe. Tactical nuclear arms with a range of up to 1,000 kilometres would be reduced alongside conventional armaments.

The entire territory of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, would be a cut-back area.

It is suggested that the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe be done gradually, according to agreed schedules, and with a constant military balance observed at lowered levels, so that no one's security is impaired. Alongside the formations and units reduced, their organic armaments, including nuclear weapon systems, would also be reduced.

A one-time mutual reduction in the numerical strength of the forces of states in the opposing military-political alliances by 100,000-150,000 troops from each side within one or two years is proposed as an initial step. Reduction in the tactical strike aviation would be of much importance as part of this step. Immediately after that, the Warsaw Treaty member states are prepared for considerable further cut-backs, as a result of which, given reciprocal readiness of the countries of the North Atlantic Alliance, the land forces and the tactical strike aviation of both alliances in Europe would be reduced early in the 1990s by approximately 25 per cent on their present level. This reduction would comprise over half a million people from each side. The armed forces of the opposing groups in Europe would thus be reduced by over a million.

The allied socialist countries declare that the process of reduction in armed forces and armaments of the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty countries should continue. Substantial reductions in the armed forces and armaments of both alliances would make it possible to involve other European states in that process.

The components of armed forces

being reduced are proposed to be disbanded by equivalent integral military formations and units alongside their organic armaments and military equipment. Their personnel would be demobilized in accordance with the procedures established in each state.

The armaments and equipment subject to reduction should be either destroyed or consigned to depots on national territory in accordance with agreed-upon procedures. Nuclear charges would be destroyed. Some types of military equipment on arrangement could be put to peaceful purposes.

The funds saved as a result of appropriate reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments must not be channelled into designing new types of armaments or for other military purposes. They must be used for economic and social development.

All the states party to an agreement on armed forces and armaments reduction would assume a commitment to refrain from increasing their land forces and tactical strike aviation beyond the limits of the cut-back area.

II

It is proposed to work out a procedure for reduction in armed forces and conventional armaments under which the process of reduction would lead to a lessening of the danger of a sudden attack and would promote consolidation of military-strategic stability on the European continent. For this purpose it is suggested to agree at the very outset on a considerable reduction in the tactical strike aviation of both military-political alliances in Europe, and also on lessening the concentration of troops along the line of contact of these alliances.

Additional measures capable of enhancing the confidence of the Warsaw Treaty countries and the NATO countries, of all European states, that sudden offensive operations will not be launched against them would also be worked out and implemented.

Arrangements are envisaged for restrictions on large military exercises (as regards their number and scale) and for exchange of more detailed information about them, and also about forces and weapon systems drawn into Europe from other areas for the period of exercises. There are other measures envisaged to promote greater mutual confidence.

Confidence building and provision of more favourable conditions for reduction in armed forces and armaments in Europe would be promoted by such measures as creation of zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons in Europe, gradual reduction in the military activity of the two military alliances, and establishment of cooperation between their participants on questions of arms limitation and disarmament.

III

Armed forces and conventional armaments would be reduced under reliable and effective control involving both national technical means and international procedures, including on-site inspections.

Alongside measures of verification of the entire process of reduction, it is proposed to establish observation of the military activity of the forces that remain after cut-backs.

Adequate forms of verification of measures for mutual confidence building, to be implemented in accordance with agreements, would also be used.

To implement control, the sides would exchange, at an agreed time, data as to the total numerical strength of the land forces and tactical strike aviation in the cut-back area and, separately, data on that part of them which is to be reduced, and on the part that will remain after the cut-backs, lists of military units to be reduced (disbanded) citing their unit designation, numerical strength, deployment and number of the main agreed-upon types of armaments subject to reduction. There would also be notifications about the beginning and completion of cut-backs.

An international consultative commission consisting of representatives of the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty countries as well as of neutral and non-aligned states concerned, and other European states, would be instituted for purposes of control.

On-site verification of the reduction of armed forces, destruction or storage of armaments could be implemented, when needed, with the invitation of representatives of the international consultative commission. Check-points staffed by representatives of the international consultative commission could be set up for such control at large railway junctions, airfields and ports.

IV

The present proposals for the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe could become the subject of definite discussion at the second stage of the conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe.

At the same time, proceeding from the urgent need to take measures to lower the level of military confrontation in Europe, the Warsaw Treaty member states hold that discussion of these proposals could be started without delay. They also deem it possible to convene for the purpose a special forum consisting of the European states, U.S.A. and Canada.

They are likewise prepared to broaden the scale of the Vienna talks on mutual reductions in armed forces and armaments in Central Europe by drawing to them other European states and by changing the mandate of the talks accordingly.

Proclaiming readiness to use all possible channels and forums to mutually lower the level of military confrontation on a European scale, they at the same time confirm their interest in armaments and armed forces reduction in Central Europe and declare once again in favour of an effective conclusion of the first stage of the Stockholm conference.

V

The question of military doctrines is of no small importance in assessing the real intentions of military-political groups and individual states. It is essential to remove the suspicion and distrust that have been accumulating for years and to analyze thoroughly each other's concerns on that matter too. In the interests of security in Europe and the whole world, the military concepts and doctrines of military alliances must be based on defensive principles.

The Warsaw Treaty member states declare with all responsibility that never, under no circumstances, will they launch hostilities against any state, whether in Europe or anywhere else in the world, unless they become the target of aggression themselves. The proposals they advance stem from their consistent policy towards removing the war threat and creating a stable and secure peace; they proceed from the defensive nature of their military doctrine which presupposes a balance of military forces at the lowest possible level, and reduction of military potentials to the adequate limits necessary for defence.

The same peaceful intentions

prompt the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty member states for a simultaneous disbandment of both military alliances.

The NATO member countries also declare a defensive nature for their alliance. It follows from this that there should be no obstacles to mutual considerable reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

* * *

In making this address the Warsaw Treaty member countries do not set any preliminary conditions whatsoever for the commencement of a concrete discussion of the proposals contained therein. They are also prepared to study in a constructive spirit any other proposals on this score that could be made by the NATO member countries, neutral and non-aligned, and other European states.

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Todor ZHIVKOV
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

For the Hungarian People's Republic

Janos KADAR
General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

For the German Democratic Republic

Erich HONECKER
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic

For the Polish People's Republic

Wojciech JARUZELSKI
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, President of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic

For the Socialist Republic of Romania

Nicolae CEAUSESCU
General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Mikhail GORBACHEV
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

Gustav HUSAK
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

Budapest, June 11, 1986

Outer Space—Arena of "Star Peace"

VYACHESLAV BALEBANOV
Deputy Director, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences
Space Research Institute

Scientists in many countries which have no space industry of their own suggest interesting experiments and ingenious devices required to carry them out. The Intercosmos council established in our country in 1966 to promote international cooperation in the field of space exploration has been organizing international research projects successfully ever since.

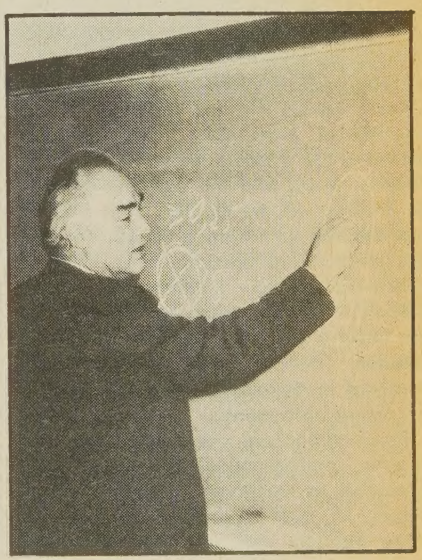
July 1985 marked the tenth anniversary of the joint Soviet-American Soyuz-Apollo space mission. It was the first international space flight ever. Since then Soviet spaceships have taken citizens of 11 countries into space. On each mission Soviet and foreign cosmonauts carried out a joint research programme, with priority invariably given to foreign scientists' research experiments.

In 1976, a discussion of the programmes of joint flights by the Soviet orbital station Salyut and the American Space Shuttle began in the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. The two countries' scientists jointly worked out large-scale space projects to be effected by a combination of Soviet and American space vehicles. Unfortunately, this work was cut short, though through no fault of ours.

This, however, did not stop international cooperation in the sphere of space research. The Veha project for the study of the planet Venus and Halley's comet was carried out successfully. Two Soviet space probes lifted off in December 1984 reached the environs of Venus, and put descent vehicles on its surface.

Both vehicles launched a small air balloon each of which cruised in the Venusian atmosphere for about two days. The balloons carried radio transmitters whose signals were picked up on earth by an international radio interference network. The network comprised twenty or so Soviet and foreign radiotelescopes stationed on various continents. Spacing them so wide apart made for optimum accuracy of measurement. Scientists in various countries cooperated in processing the results.

Last March saw the "rendezvous" with the famous Halley's comet. The



Veha research programme paid special attention to the study of the comet's central regions. Two TV cameras and two spectrometers developed jointly by scientists in the U.S.S.R., France, Hungary and Bulgaria, were used to determine the size, shape and structure of the nucleus. The optical instruments installed on the tracking platform were designed by the Academies of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and the C.S.S.R. Scientists from the F.R.G., the U.S.S.R. and France built a unique instrument—a dust-impact mass analyzer which made it possible to determine the chemical composition of comet dust.

By amicable concerted efforts mankind can make a breakthrough in the exploration and use of outer space for our immediate common benefit. This is a serious and wide-ranging programme. We suggest that a world space organization be established to implement it within the framework of the United Nations.

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

Another set of instruments, developed by scientists in the U.S.S.R., France, Hungary, Poland and Austria, provided information on the interaction between comet gas and a flux of solar plasma. The Veha project was carried out under the general supervision of an international scientific and technological committee.

At the same time as Veha, two other projects—the European Giotto and the Japanese Planet A—also investigated Halley's comet. These research programmes complemented the Veha project. Since the Veha probe was the first to meet with the comet, the data on its position made it possible to make timely corrections in Giotto's trajectory on the basis of the comet's ascertained bearings. This was done as part of the international project Pathfinder.

In the course of the joint implementation of the Veha programme an international body of researchers and technicians was formed which is now carrying out another planet research project named Phobos (Phobos is a satellite of Mars—**Ed.**). The project provides for a comprehensive study of Phobos, Mars, and the Sun (incidentally, Phobos will be studied both from a low altitude and from a probe to be descended to its surface).

Scientists and engineers in the U.S.S.R., France, Bulgaria, the F.R.G., the G.D.R., the C.S.S.R., Poland, Austria, Sweden, Finland and Hungary are involved in developing and making the necessary instruments.

Preparations are now under way for another multipurpose project, Vesta, designed to continue the study of Venus, to inspect several asteroids at close quarters and to give thorough study to one of them.

The large Soviet-French Gamma telescope is to provide the first ever pictures of the celestial sphere in a hard gamma-ray emission range, with high angular resolution. This unique telescope has already been built and is now undergoing preflight calibration at an accelerator near Moscow.

On April 26, 1985, the Soviet Union sent the satellite Prognoz-10 carrying research equipment to study the behaviour of shock waves in space plasma into high-apogee orbit. The project, named Intershock, is being carried out by Soviet and Czechoslovak scientists. The study of space plasma in the terrestrial magnetosphere will be continued under the Interball project in which scientists of more than 10 countries take part. This project provides for the launching of two high-apogee satellites of the Prognoz type.

Space research is a costly matter. Its development is restricted by the funds available for the purpose. A number of projects could have been realized if the money allocated by the U.S. for the "star wars" programme had gone into funding the international peaceful space research effort.

For instance, it would have been possible to send a manned mission to Mars, bring an asteroid to earth, and build mammoth space radiotelescopes. The international community would have been able to resolve a variety of problems to the benefit of all, such as those involved in creating a satellite observation and control system which would forecast weather, issue storm warnings, monitor the situation over sown areas, give guidance to ships and planes, and supervise the state of the fish population, the biosphere, and woods and glaciers. Schemes have been suggested for the establishment of an international agency to protect the earth against accidental collision with large heavenly bodies, and develop the mineral wealth of the moon.

For the Benefit of Man

PYOTR KLIMUK
Twice Hero of the Soviet Union
Pilot Cosmonaut of the U.S.S.R.

The Earth and space... What can they have in common? The earth is the cradle of life, and life itself, while space is a black, boundless and lifeless void. What does man want in space, why does it attract him so powerfully and what is he looking for there?

A seven-league stride forward has been made in space exploration over the historically short period that separates us from the launching of the world's first artificial earth satellite by the Soviet Union and the liftoff, in 1961, of the Vostok spaceship manned by Yuri Gagarin, the planet's first cosmonaut. Man has begun to make himself at home in space. Hundreds of satellites now orbit the earth and visiting crews, international included, of scientists and technical experts work at permanent stations for months on end. Interplanetary research stations probe deep into the Solar system. Systematic study is being given to the Moon, Venus, and Mars by means of space vehicles. Space research is of immediate benefit to man

THE REWARDS OF SPACE RESEARCH

at Soviet scientists' estimate:

— 30 million rubles a year are saved by using spacecraft-supplied information in topographic map-making.

— 100 million rubles a year are saved by oil and gas prospecting from space.

— 500 to 700 million rubles a year are saved thanks to more accurate satellite-aided weather forecasting.

— 15 to 17 rubles will be returned in profit soon by each ruble spent on exploring natural resources from space.

RECORD OF SOVIET PROPOSALS

Immediately after launching the world's first artificial earth satellite the U.S.S.R. declared for ensuring that outer space remain an arena of peaceful cooperation.

1958. The Soviet government submits to the 13th U.N. General Assembly a proposal for the elaboration of international agreements on cooperation among the states in space exploration and on the prohibition of the use of outer space for military purposes.

1961. On April 12, the day of the first manned space flight, Moscow declares: "We regard triumphs in the exploration of outer space as achievements not only of our own people, but of the whole of mankind. We are happy to place them at the service of all nations in the name of the progress, happiness, and well-being of all people on earth."

1963. On the initiative of the U.S.S.R. an agreement is concluded with the United States and Britain prohibiting nuclear weapon tests in three media, including outer space.

1967. An agreement on the principles governing the activities of the states in the exploration and use of outer space, including the Moon and other celestial bodies, enters into force. The signatories undertake not to orbit objects carrying nuclear weapons or other types of mass destruction weapons. The deployment of military bases, installations and fortifications, the testing of all types of weapons, and the holding of military manoeuvres is prohibited in outer space.

1972. The Soviet-American treaty of unlimited duration on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems is signed. Article 5 of the treaty reads: "Each party undertakes not to develop, test, or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based, or mobile land-based."

1976. The Soviet Union submits to the United Nations a proposal to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. The draft includes a provision on the renunciation of the use of armed force on land, at sea, in the air, and in outer space.

1981. The Soviet Union enters on the agenda of the 36th U.N. General Assembly a proposal for the conclusion of a treaty prohibiting the deployment of weapons of any type in outer space.

1983. The U.S.S.R. puts before the U.N. a draft treaty on the prohibition of the use of force in outer space or from outer space against the earth. Moscow unilaterally undertakes the commitment not to be the first to orbit anti-satellite weapons of any type so long as the U.S. and other countries act accordingly.

1984. The Soviet Union puts forward two more major initiatives relating to outer space: to begin talks with the U.S. on the prevention of the militarization of outer space and to resolve within the framework of the U.N. the problem of the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the good of mankind. A relevant U.N. resolution is supported by 150 countries, with the United States alone abstaining.

1985. The Soviet Union again submits for consideration by the 40th U.N. General Assembly the question of international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space in the conditions of its non-militarization.

1986. On June 9, Mikhail Gorbachev announces in Budapest a new major Soviet initiative aimed at peaceful and fruitful cooperation in the exploration of the Universe.

in many fields. No one now doubts that the breakthrough into space and its practical application rank with the greatest scientific and technical achievements of mankind.

Since Yuri Gagarin's space flight the Soviet Union has made impressive progress in space research. Sixty Soviet cosmonauts have been in space, and eleven international manned space missions have been carried out. Preparations for a Soviet-Syrian flight are now under way.

The programme of each Soviet space experiment embodies the guiding principle: "space must serve man." In our country's space experiments the interests of science and production, of theoretical and practical problems are fused into a single whole. Soviet cosmonautics has made a substantial contribution to the development of a number of branches of the country's national economy. Prominent among its immediate practical objectives are quests for rational methods of using natural wealth with an eye to environmental safety.

The present stage of space exploration is marked by international cooperation in manned cosmonautics. This was initiated by the Soviet Union.

The Intercosmos programme of broad international cooperation, drawn up in the mid-sixties, was the first instance of such cooperation. More than 20 artificial earth satellites have been orbited under this programme since 1969.

In the period of March 1978 to May 1981 nine international space missions were accomplished, with scientist-cosmonauts from Czechoslovakia, Poland, the G.D.R., Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, Cuba, Mongolia and Romania taking part. Soviet cosmonauts have flown on space missions with their French and Indian colleagues. The missions served both fundamental research objectives (expanding the frontiers of knowledge, unravelling the mysteries of the universe) and practical ones (putting the latest technical advances brought into being by the advent of the space era to practical uses in the national economy). The Soyuz-Apollo joint Soviet-American space mission, carried out in 1975, drew highly favourable comment the world over.

The scientific investigation of natural resources, meteorological, climatic, oceanological and physico-geographic research are steadily gaining in importance. The participants in all the international space missions conducted experiments in space on materials, and studied the behaviour of various alloys in the process of melting and crystallization.

"Our Party and Government stand for the peaceful utilization of outer space," Yuri Gagarin said. "There is room for everyone in space. This arena, however, must be used for peaceful rather than military purposes." This attitude which our country has adopted meets with approval on the part of all nations.

Unfortunately, Washington takes a different view. The U.S. is planning, and actually taking action aimed at implementing the development and deployment of space strike weapons to hit targets in and from space, in the air and on the ground; plans are also under way for the creation of a far-flung ABM system with some of its elements based in space.

Militarization would create insurmountable obstacles to the development of international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space. Civilization is now at a crossroads where outer space can become either a vast field for research geared to human needs, or a source of deadly danger to mankind. The Soviet Union—a resolute opponent of any arms race, space included—favours international cooperation in peaceful space research. Space must only serve the cause of peace!

Todor Zhivkov:

There Is No Task More Important

"No task is more important today than that of preserving peace and, consequently, life on earth. This depends on the activities of all governments, political parties and movements," Todor Zhivkov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, President of the State Council of Bulgaria, told an international meeting of representatives of agrarian parties and movements in Sofia.

As he dwelt on the pressing problems of the current international situation, the Bulgarian leader pointed out that coexistence between two different socio-economic systems—socialist and capitalist—is the main and decisive factor of the present day. Although antagonistic by their very nature, these two systems should not resolve their differences by force of arms.

The deepening of the international division of labour and the expansion of economic ties lend greater urgency than ever to the problem of universal economic security, and removing obstacles impeding the development of international economic relations.

Characteristic of the modern world is an unprecedented increase in the magnitude of global human problems which cannot be resolved by a single state or group of states. These problems include, in particular, the safeguarding of peace, the protection of the environment, and the tapping of the resources of the World Ocean.

The scientific and technological revolution has caused the impetuous growth of productive forces, and has given enormous scope for man's physical and moral abilities. At the same time, however, it has created entirely new means of warfare and destruction. Although under the circumstances war is absurd the nuclear arms race continues. In this nuclear age of ours, however, no state's security can be guaranteed by military technology. The only way to guarantee security is political, through dialogue. Trying to resolve the vital problems of our day by force of arms is fraught with the certainty of self-destruction. It is necessary for all to realize that we live at a critical time when the fate of the planet is at stake.

The Soviet Union's wide-ranging proposals for the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons before the end of this century, and setting up a comprehensive international security system are known the world over. The extension of the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing is another manifestation of the U.S.S.R.'s

EXCLUSIVE FOR NEW TIMES

Prominent British Labour leader on East-West relations

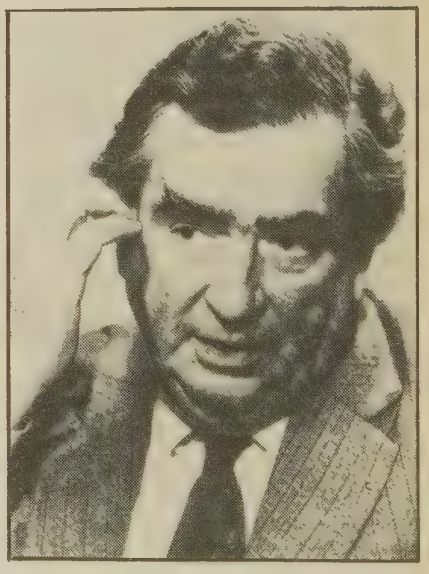
We Live in a Single World

DENIS HEALY

The purpose of this visit is to repay the visit to Britain made by the Soviet parliamentary delegation in December 1984 which was led by Mikhail Gorbachev. Our visit is at a higher level than most delegations of the Interparliamentary Union because it is led by Deputy Prime Minister Lord Whitelaw, who has great influence on the Prime Minister's policies. I am leading on the other side as Shadow Foreign Minister. I have brought with me Tom Clarke, chairman of the foreign affairs committee of the Labour Party.

From the point of view of the British, our main task is to understand the changes which the new Soviet leadership is bringing about in Soviet domestic and foreign policy, and to form judgements as to how Britain should respond to the new opportunities those changes present. No doubt, some members of the delegation will form different impressions from those of mine. But I think it is fair to say that the delegation as a whole received a very favourable impression of the changes taking place in the Soviet society. We wish the new leadership of the Soviet Union well in their historic task.

As for me personally, I have visited the U.S.S.R. on a number of occasions in the past. The most obvious impression I have formed, compared with earlier visits, is that of the semblance of young generation in our two countries. I broke away from the delegation for an hour and a half to go to the Gorky Park, and I saw the crowds of young people enjoying themselves there who looked to me exactly like crowds of young people at a park in Britain. I had the same feeling also in Georgia when we went to the Flower Festival, an exhibition in Tbilisi.



We were very impressed during our visit to a steel factory outside Tbilisi by the competence, vigour and youth of the manager. I think it went for Conservative as well as the Labour MPs.

Another big change I have noted is the new laws on drinking. As a politi-

A British parliamentary delegation visited the Soviet Union last month at the invitation of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

keen sense of responsibility for the fate of mankind.

The Soviet proposals provide for the fullest and most effective guarantees of human rights, including the basic right—the right to live. They add up to a programme of peaceful coexistence in action. This is a straightforward and honest position prompted by the interests of all, an example of humanism. The nations can now by right demand that the other side should meet these proposals halfway. There is no alternative.

To the realistic and constructive approach of the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries U.S. reactionary circles oppose a policy of neoglobalism. They are preparing for "star wars," putting their own interests above those of other members of the international community and grossly interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign states. Such a policy is damaging to all mankind.

The threat of a nuclear holocaust hangs over us all. Averting it requires joint effort on the part of all governments, states, parliaments, nations, political parties and peace movements, all the people on earth irrespective of the class, national, ideological and religious differences between them. It is necessary to wage a vigorous and determined fight for the banning of nuclear tests and the elimination of nuclear weapons. This is an imperative demand of the time we live in.

Having noted the increased importance of the mass media in contemporary political life and the effect they have on the shaping of international relations, Todor Zhivkov stressed that while remaining an important means of ideological struggle and political expression they should be used, first and foremost, for the broadening of scientific, technological and cultural exchanges.

Dwelling on Bulgarian foreign policy, Todor Zhivkov pointed out that it is based on the ideas of peace and international security and aimed at asserting the principle of peaceful coexistence among states with different socio-economic systems. Bulgaria promotes fruitful cooperation with socialist and developing countries in all fields, supports the struggle against colonialism and racism and dictatorial and anti-popular regimes. It seeks political dialogue, and equal economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation with industrialized capitalist states. Bulgaria pays considerable attention to the situation in the Balkans and is perfectly aware of the attempts being made to upset stability, undermine confidence and build up tension in the region.

Bulgaria is actively promoting bilateral relations between Balkan states, and taking part in the campaign to make the Balkans a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons. It has put forward the initiative to sign a treaty on the ecological protection of the peninsula. All this amounts to a concrete contribution on Bulgaria's part to safeguarding peace, to strengthening confidence and security, and maintaining and promoting good-neighbourly relations and cooperation in the Balkans, the Bulgarian leader stressed. ■

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cian I cannot but support this campaign.

Above all that I was, of course, greatly impressed by the meeting of our delegation with the General Secretary of the CPSU Mikhail Gorbachev, especially by his charming but businesslike style. The General Secretary put to us the proposal that if the British government eliminated its strategic nuclear weapons, the Soviet government would make adequate cuts in its forces. It was, of course, very welcome to the Labour members. As it is well known, we do plan to eliminate the nuclear weapons, and we hope very much that it would be reciprocated.

The latest Soviet peace initiatives, notably the statement of the General Secretary of the CPSU of January 15, were met with great interest by the British public. The plan to get rid of nuclear weapons is, I believe, a sensible objective. At the same time, to be frank, we remain slightly sceptical about the possibility of achieving it within 15 years. We believe it would be impossible to phase out nuclear weapons from two countries alone. All countries in the world would have to phase them out, including China, India, Israel, France and Britain.

It is difficult to conceive that happening before the world has created a single international security system, such as General Secretary Gorbachev looked forward to in his speech to the 27th Party Congress. And I do not see that being created within 15 years from now.

Incidentally, a couple of words about a single international security system. This concept was successfully developed by Mikhail Gorbachev along Marxist lines. The confrontation of opposites, he suggested, could lead to a new synthesis. And he pointed, too, that whether we like it or not—and the accident in Chernobyl has proved this—we live in a single world, and one camp cannot survive without the other.

We in Britain strongly support the Soviet proposals for getting rid of intermediate nuclear forces in the European area. We hope that we would make our own contribution to that so far as the British forces are concerned. We would not build up the Polaris force. On the contrary, we would decomission it when we have got into power.

We very strongly favour the comprehensive ban treaty. But we think it is very important that the Soviet government should unequivocally state its readiness to accept on-site inspection of such a treaty. We want a ban on chemical weapons urgently, and we think that is within reach. Here, again, the verification is one of the key issues.

As far as the European countries are concerned, these moves in the areas of unconventional weapons, like chemical weapons and nuclear weapons, must be accompanied by some moves on the conventional side. We therefore would very much like to see progress in the Vienna talks on mutual and balanced force reduction in Central Europe. Here, again, an outside observer like me believes that the positions of the two sides are not very far apart, providing an agreement can be reached on the nature of the verification regime. Numbers is not a problem at the moment because the Soviet Union has agreed to make bigger cuts than the West. General Secretary Gorbachev said in his talks with us that there would be a new major Soviet initiative on conventional force reduction announced at the Budapest meeting of the Warsaw Pact. We look forward with great interest to what he has to say.

As I have already said, the Labour Party of Great Britain will try its best to contribute to the process of disarmament and lessening East-West tension. In the area of nuclear disarmament the Labour Party's own defence policy will, of course, assist negotiations in the ways I mentioned. But the most important thing would be the influence of the Labour government in Britain on the approach of the Western alliance as a whole and in particular

on the United States. We in the Labour Party do not feel that the present British government used all the influence it could have used and sometimes hasn't used it in the right direction (for example, allowing F-111 planes flying from British bases to bomb Libya). But the Soviet Union will have to understand that until we have a single international security system we believe our security must depend on Britain's membership in the Atlantic alliance just as the security of the countries in Eastern Europe depends on the membership of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

I do not want to attack the British government in a Soviet paper as I have attacked it a great deal at home. But we would certainly take a very different view on many issues. And, incidentally, not only on questions of nuclear disarmament. We take a very different view on the problems of southern Africa. We believe it is necessary that the world should employ economic sanctions on the apartheid regime as the only possible means of achieving a peaceful settlement. We believe that the settlement of the problems in the Middle East can only be achieved in an international framework in which the Soviet Union plays a role along with its friends like Syria. We, of course, take a very different view from the U.S. government on the problems of Central America, particularly in Nicaragua. I suspect the British government shares our view: certainly Britain's Foreign Secretary said many times in Parliament that Britain is opposed to the use of force to solve those problems.

Such is our approach to the problems of disarmament and to the international politics. I think one of the most important ways to lessen East-West tensions is to discuss some of the most unstable parts of the world where local conditions could produce a conflict which would drag the superpowers into conflict with one another. There should be a much freer and more open discussion to handle these problems. Not in order to impose an American-Soviet condominium in these areas—which is impossible in any case, but to ensure that unexpected events do not involve the superpowers and increase the risk of a world war. ■

Photo from the Tribune (Britain)

PANORAMA

U.S.S.R.—P.D.R.Y.

UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT

The situation in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen is returning to normal after the dramatic January events. Much effort and means have had to be mobilized to cope with their aftermath. At the call of the ruling Yemen Socialist Party, all the working people of Yemen, trade union, women's and other public organizations have joined in a nationwide effort to repair the damage. Wrecked buildings in Aden are being restored and state institutions are functioning normally. An amnesty was declared and measures are being taken to strengthen Party organizations and government bodies, all of which helps to achieve national accord and stabilize the internal situation.

The fourth plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party held in late May dealt with questions relating to overcoming the consequences of the January events, which had led to armed clashes and considerable loss of life. No little damage, it was emphasized at the meeting, had been wrought to the Party and the country and a favourable soil had been created for the forces of imperialism and reaction inimical to the Republic to step up an ideological campaign against the socialist orientation chosen by the country.

Those forces stopped at nothing to vilify and slander democratic Yemen and to drive a wedge between the Republic and its friends, primarily the Soviet Union. CIA director William Casey, for instance, alleged that it was the U.S.S.R. that had inspired the conflict situation in the country in order to strengthen its base of operations there. The absurdity, not to speak of the futility of such insinuations, is obvious.

The Soviet Union's position with regard to what happened in South Yemen was and continues to be based on solidarity with the progressive forces of the country and strict non-interference in its internal affairs. The course steered by the Yemen Socialist Party towards preserving and strengthening the progressive regime, its peaceful foreign policy, and its striving for equal cooperation with its neighbours and all other countries, particularly Arab states, meet with full understanding in the Soviet Union.

During the talks earlier this month with Yemeni Prime Minister Yasin Said No'man, who came to the U.S.S.R. on a working visit, the Soviet side expressed due concern for the difficulties the Republic's leadership has to contend

The talks between Nikolai Ryzhkov and Yasin Said No'man in the Kremlin.

with in its effort to liquidate the aftermath of the January events as quickly as possible, to normalize the situation in the country, and build up the national economy in the interests of the broad masses of the people. Taking this into account, the Soviet Union will continue to render democratic Yemen the necessary support and assistance in resolving the problems facing it. The head of the Yemeni government expressed his appreciation of the firm internationalist stand taken by the Soviet Union with regard to the January events. "This stand," he said at the reception in the Kremlin, "was of exceptional importance in the matter of preventing outside interference and preserving the progressive regime, of assistance to our Party and people in the rehabilitation of the country and strengthening of its socialist orientation."

Economic ties between the U.S.S.R. and South Yemen have broadened significantly. Some important economic projects in the sphere of power industry, transport and agriculture are being built in the P.D.R.Y. with the participation of Soviet specialists. Geological prospecting is being extended and cooperation promoted in the training of national personnel and in the field of education and public health. The Moscow talks and the agreements reached will serve further to develop these fruitful ties and make them still more effective.

The friendly Soviet-South Yemen relations are an important factor of the socio-political and economic life of the people of democratic Yemen. There is no doubt that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the P.D.R.Y. will be steadily broadened and deepened.

A. SERGEYEV

TASS photo

F.R.G.

SHIFTING THE BLAME

Late last month a group of reporters were invited to visit the atomic power plant in Hamm, North Rhine-Westphalia. They were to write about the reactor, then doing a trial run, which, according to the plant's management, "precludes the risk of the environmental radioactive contamination even in the incredible contingency of a series of errors provoking an accident." The news stories were intended to back up the arrogant (and totally unsubstantiated) claims by the authorities that West Germany's atomic plants are "the world's most reliable."

However, nothing came of it. The reporters were to visit the station on May 31. But the day before a spokesman for the Freiburg Institute of Ecology announced that on May 4 a heightened level of radioactivity had been recorded in the soil in the neighbourhood of the plant, probably due to an accident there. Yet to all inquiries from the institute the plant's management said everything was in hand.

It later transpired that an accident had indeed occurred, causing a radioactive outburst. However, the owners of the firm that operates the Hamm reactor attempted a cover-up by ascribing the radioactivity to the Chernobyl accident. On May 12 they declared in a letter to the landtag: "The radioactivity recorded in the vicinity of the reactor is due exclusively to the accident at the Chernobyl atomic plant... Chiefly responsible were the extraordinarily adverse meteorological conditions, especially the heavy rain. All rumours that reactor damage is to blame for the heightened radioactivity are completely unfounded."

In mid-May a group of landtag deputies from the Free Democratic Party visited the Hamm plant. They were not told anything about the accident either. On the contrary, they were shown a publicity trailer promoting the "advantages" of this type of reactor, the brainchild of West German engineering.

What we are dealing with is a deliberate deception of both parliament and public, which also implicates officials of the land's ministry of economics, whom the plant management notified of the accident, though, it is true, after some delay. Only after the whole affair had come to light and local peasants and environmentalists demonstrated outside the plant was a commission set up to institute an inquiry.

The heads of the power firm and officials at the economics ministry did not organize the exercise to cover up their own negligence alone. Any news of a radioactive leak from the Hamm plant would have jarred with the anti-Soviet campaign mounted in the F.R.G. over the Chernobyl accident. The "independent" capitalist press and both official and quasi-official bulletins featured sundry fabrications noting the "unreliability" of Soviet atomic plants and the merits of Western, especially German, technology.

The tune for this unseemly campaign was set by the leaders of the government coalition. "The Chernobyl reactor would never have been granted permission to operate in the Federal Republic," Chancellor Helmut Kohl told the Bundestag on May 14 to applause from like-minded deputies who have very hazy notions of nuclear power engineering. He said he was unhappy with the "information blockade" that the Soviet Union had supposedly erected round the events at Chernobyl. It should be noted that this was said after the West German government had been officially notified of the Chernobyl accident, after Hans Blix, director-general of the International Atomic Energy Agency, had visited the site and many news conferences had been held in Moscow.

Spokesmen for the ruling parties conducted themselves in quite a different manner when the Hamm accident was debated in the Bundestag in response to a demand from the Greens. No one of them spoke of an "information blockade" or a "desire to keep everything under wraps," although on this occasion such remarks would have been appropriate. On the contrary, they took up cudgels for the management of the Hamm plant and accused the opposition of "fanning panic" by pressing for a full inquiry.

Social Democrat Hermann Heinemann, Labour Minister in the North Rhine-Westphalia government, called attempts to sweep the Hamm accident under the carpet "unprecedented swinishness.

A. TOLPEGIN,
Our Own Correspondent

Bonn

The Lessons of the Bern Conference

YURI KASHLEV
Head of the Soviet Delegation

For nearly two months the Bern conference of experts on people-to-people contacts representing 35 countries was in session. Convened in conformity with the relevant decision taken by the Madrid meeting of the participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1983, it was the first forum in the more than ten years of the Helsinki process to be specially devoted to the expansion and promotion of contacts and exchanges between institutions and organizations of the participating countries as well as contacts between individuals on the basis of kinship, family reunions, marriages between nationals of different countries, etc.

From the outset the debates in Bern were rather heated.

This was so primarily because the delegations of a number of NATO countries headed by the U.S. sought to revise the terms of reference agreed in Madrid for the conference and to relegate to the background the broadest channels of people-to-people contacts and exchanges—those provided by the trade unions and women's, youth and other mass organizations, as well as tourism.

Secondly, again in violation of the terms of reference and the established practice, they insisted on the sittings being open to the public, which meant admitting the press and the representatives of all manner of anti-communist organizations specially brought to Bern for the purpose.

Third, the Western ideological indoctrination centres from the very beginning were out to set the tone at the conference and around it. In the course of the first two weeks alone, dozens of rallies were staged by organizations campaigning against the socialist countries, such as the so-called Resistance International and the Inter-Parliamentary Conference in Defence of Soviet Jews. Some of them, for instance, the National Strategic Information Centre (an American organization operating under the wing of the CIA) and the International Human Rights Association (based in the F.R.G. and with the war criminal Agruzov as one of its leaders), actually opened offices in Bern. The rallies were attended by professional anti-Sovieteers and anti-communists like Bukovsky, Plyushch, Yves Montand and Ionescu. A "counter-conference" was held to which President Reagan sent a special message, much to the surprise of the participants in the official all-European conference which he chose to ignore.

One would rather not begin an account of the Bern forum with an enumeration of these psychological warfare experts, but there were so many of them and they raised such a clamour during the first days of the conference that they can hardly be passed over in silence.

How were the attempts to make the conference a confrontation and propaganda exercise foiled? The answer to this question to a large extent explains what happened further.

The mistake the Transatlantic organizers of this exercise made was to underestimate the potential the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries possess in that area of international relations known as humanitarian cooperation. In this sphere, which the West continues by inertia to consider its political trump card, we put forward such a constructive programme that our opponents soon had to pull in their horns, and to go over to the defensive on many issues.

We began by declaring the Soviet Union's firm conviction that cooperation among the European countries in questions relating to the promotion of contacts between individuals, institutions and organizations is both possible and necessary. The 27th Congress of the CPSU qualified cooperation in the humanitarian field as basic to a comprehensive system of international security. The Soviet delegation drew the attention of the participants in the Bern Conference to what CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev said in April in Berlin: "The closest economic cooperation, the broadest exchange of cultural values, direct and free intercourse among the citizens of all countries—this is how we visualize the peaceful future of Europe, this is what we are ready to work for."

Accordingly, the Soviet delegation at the Bern conference consistently called for thorough, businesslike and balanced examination in a constructive spirit of all the aspects of the expansion of contacts between individuals, institutions and organizations as set forth in the Helsinki Final Act and the summing-up document of the Madrid meeting. We made it plain from the outset that we wanted concrete results and not a propaganda contest, and consistently adhered to this line, not allowing ourselves to be drawn by the provocative speeches delivered by some Western representatives suffering from a psychological warfare complex.

The socialist countries put before the conference no less than 24 concrete proposals. The large number of these proposals, as well as the aims they pursued, testified to our country's genuine desire to promote humanitarian cooperation. These proposals cover practically the entire range of large-scale contacts involving millions of people, institutions and organizations and are not limited exclusively to family relations between citizens of the participating countries which, though important in themselves, affect a small number of people.

In particular, the Soviet delegation together with other socialist countries called for the promotion of contacts and exchanges between trade unions, youth and sports organizations and universities, the conclusion of more intergovernmental agreements on these questions, for ensuring favourable conditions and the personal safety of participants in such exchanges, for speeding up the issuance of visas, and for increasing exchange of tourists.

Of fundamental importance was the recommendation submitted by the Soviet delegation as regards improving the entry and exit regulations enforced by the participants in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe in relation to people travelling for family reasons, with due account taken of the international norms and understandings recorded in the Final Act and the Madrid summing up document. We also supported the reasonable and realistic proposals made by other delegations on questions of family reunion, family travel, and other matters vital for many people. As a result, for the first time in the history of the Helsinki process, a document was collectively drawn up the adoption of which would unquestionably have been welcomed by millions of people.

Contrary to the picture painted by Western propaganda, the Bern meeting was by no means a one-way affair. Numerous violations of the Helsinki understandings by Western powers

were brought to light. For instance, virtually all the capitalist participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe still do not observe the recommendation to simplify the issuance of entry visas. Citizens of other countries who seek permission to enter them or have settled in them for family reasons are subjected to discrimination. Exchanges with trade union, women's or youth organizations of socialist countries are obstructed. While the Bern conference was still in session the U.S. State Department refused entry visas to two groups of Soviet workers who had been invited to attend the 100th anniversary of May Day in Chicago. The representatives of the NATO countries felt uncomfortable indeed when these and similar facts were put before them.

In the course of the debates many delegates quoted what Mikhail Gorbachev had said on international issues. This was a sign that an increasing number of public personalities abroad understand the substance of the new, end-of-the-century thinking which the Soviet leadership propounds. New thinking consonant with the realities of today and tomorrow is what is above all needed for security, cooperation and mutual understanding to be ensured and a new stage in international relations ushered in.

The far-reaching peace initiatives the Soviet Union has put forward in the recent period, and primarily the proposal completely to rid humanity of nuclear weapons by the end of the century, are a manifestation of this new thinking. This applies also to the course steered by the 27th CPSU Congress towards democratization and humanization of international relations, towards the development of humanitarian cooperation.

At the decisive moment in the deliberations of the Bern conference, when a compromise draft of a final document submitted by the neutral countries and containing many important understandings with regard to people-to-people contacts had been practically agreed upon, the American delegation received instructions from Washington not to support it. In view of the concensus rule observed at all European forums this was tantamount to the U.S. vetoing the outcome of two months of hard work by representatives of the participating countries.

It was a glaring instance of an altogether different kind of thinking—the thinking of a world policeman who feels entitled to ride roughshod over the will of other peoples. It was as if the Europeans had been shown a fist and told that they would not be allowed to continue the dialogue among the continent's countries or to expand humanitarian cooperation and carry forward the Helsinki process.

After weeks of sermonizing by the American representatives about the needs of ordinary people, it was thus revealed that all this preachment was merely a demagogic screen for the real U.S. intentions. And these intentions are to prevent cooperation among the European peoples, to torpedo the Helsinki process, and use every opportunity, including the humane subject of people-to-people contacts, for psychological warfare and anti-communist demagogy.

Cold-war inertia, disregard for the interests of other people, the European included, is how many in Bern qualified the actions of those who prevented the meeting from producing constructive results. It was part and parcel of the same political philosophy that found expression in the bombing of Libyan cities, the killing of innocent people, and the continuation of nuclear testing in defiance of world opinion.

The U.S. action in Bern was deplored even by America's closest NATO allies. But their appeals to Washington on the last day of the conference not to torpedo the results of the joint work done were of no avail. The answer was "no."

Nevertheless, those who are doing their utmost to maintain the inertia of the cold war are having to realize that times are changing, and in Europe as well. The fact that the Bern conference succeeded in working out and agreeing unanimously (with the exception of the U.S.) an important document on such a far from simple question as people-to-people contacts is a sign of the times, of new approaches. And this cannot but give cause for optimism as regards the Helsinki process which is continuing to develop. The last negative chord struck in Bern cannot alter this fact.

The representatives of the 35 participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe are due to get together in November this year at their next political follow-up meeting in Vienna. In Bern we were keenly aware of the great interest evinced by all Europeans in both this meeting and the Helsinki process in general. And this is encouraging for all of us who share a common home.

■

OUR COMMENT

DISCORDANT NOTE

When opening up his country to Western capital, the late President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, as is well known, vigorously pursued the policy of scaling down relations with the Soviet Union. He described one of his campaigns within the framework of this policy as the "corrective revolution of May 15." That was in 1971.

This year the Cairo newspaper May, a mouthpiece for the country's ruling National Democratic Party, decided to mark the anniversary of that odious event with an unequivocally anti-Soviet article. In it those who favour cooperation with the U.S.S.R. are brazenly accused of being "agents of Moscow," "betrayers of the Egyptian revolution," and so on.

Of course, one could simply laugh at the thinking of the inveterately anti-Soviet Ali ad-Dali, who writes such nonsense with a straight face. After all, how many pathological anti-Sovietists of his dye are there in the Egyptian press? Five or six at the most. But there is something else to cause concern.

The views that Soviet-Egyptian ties should be normalized is now widespread in Egypt. Numerous positive articles about relations between the U.S.S.R. and Egypt are published in the Cairo press. "A resumption of healthy relations with the U.S.S.R. and the overcoming of the unpleasantness that existed in the past accords with Egypt's cardinal interests," writes, for instance, the weekly Al-Musawar. "The development of cooperation with the Soviet Union on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs would serve the cause of Egypt's internal development."

But it is exactly such changes in Egyptian policy that Sadat's overt and covert followers, who are attempting to vindicate his anti-national course after the event, do not want. And it is probably they who are behind the publication of the anti-Soviet article in May. For whose ears is this note of discord intended? Washington's. . .?

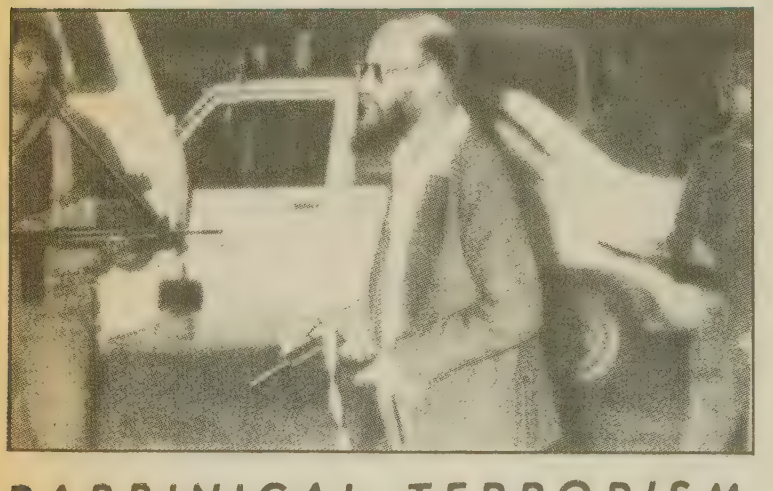
A. ARKADYEV

STRATEGY OF FEAR

An insidious indoctrination and coercion machine has been set in motion to create an atmosphere of mortal fear in which to persuade the public that the only alternative facing humanity is either to submit to the global diktat of imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism, or to take the consequences, for imperialism spares no one. Today the main expedient used in this drive to manipulate the public mind is terrorism. Speculating on the natural revulsion evoked by terrorist acts, the masterminds behind it all are seeking to make people accept passively, if not jubilantly, the monstrous crimes of state terrorism. A case in point was the U.S. attack on Libya which has served the South African racist regime as an object lesson and a source of inspiration.

Clamour about terrorist acts offers ideal cover for levelling unfounded accusations against Libya or Syria in order to hypnotize the public, to blind it, for instance, to the fact that the annual number of victims of individual terrorist acts worldwide is only one fiftieth of the number of premeditated murders committed in the U.S. alone. Are these murders more justified, is "homegrown" terrorism more commendable? The children killed by bombs planted in airliners should not have died, but neither should the Nicaraguan children killed by American terrorist hirelings. Are the kidnappers of American or French nationals in Beirut more blameworthy than the Somozists who abducted a group of citizens of the F.R.G.?

"The gods of information thirst for blood, violence and horrors," the editor of the Paris monthly Le Monde Diplomatique Claude Julien wrote recently. An apt observation. They thirst for blood, violence and horrors because these commodities "sell well," because they titillate the nerves of the reader and pro heave a sigh of dee the thought that this d pen to him or his near even more so because phere of hysteria, o insanity disarms the whom the "gods of in in fulfilment of their tract, are pressing the vision of the world, t standing of what is what is bad, what is h what is criminal. And they make people in the most fearsome thre ed to all by global nuc terrorism.



RABBINICAL TERRORISM

The Israeli Ministry of the Interior officially finances the terrorist activity of the right extremists among the "settlers" on occupied Arab lands. Among others thus financed is the Gush Emunim fascist-type group founded and led by one Rabbi Moshe Levinger (photo above), who organized bandit raids on a number of Arab villages in which peasant houses were wrecked and crops destroyed. The rabbi and his accomplices besieged the Palestinian refugee camp at Dayisheh near Bethlehem for several months with the help of regular Israeli army units. Levinger is also in charge of the enforced colonization of the centre of Hebron.

So much for open terrorism. Another part of the Interior Ministry's funds went to the underground terrorists who are responsible for many murders.

A rich political soil for the flourishing of fanatical, unrestrained racism has long been cultivated in Israel. This is evident even in the compositions of schoolchildren excerpts from which were cited recently by the American Newsweek magazine. "The first thing I feel when I hear the word Arab is deep nausea and great anger," a schoolboy described by his teacher as "sensitive" and "good student," wrote. A girl of 14, a star pupil, wrote: "I want to kill all the Arabs."

And so the rabbi reaches for his gun.

V. KHROMOV

Photo from L'Humanité (France)

WITH GUN AND CAMERA

Amanullah Wardak is one of the top men in a group of 20 Afghan counterrevolutionaries who were given a course of training for television cameramen in the F.R.G. The course was specially organized for them. For what purpose?

"We will use videocameras along with our submachine guns," was how Amanullah replied to this question put by a Reuter correspondent. Explaining how the cameras are used Gul Rahman, one of the Afghan counterrevolutionaries, said their band had been joined in Paktia Province by two American instructors who ordered them to put on uniforms of Afghan and Soviet soldiers and sent them to attack the inhabitants of Alisangy Village. It was all recorded on film by the U.S. instructors. This is not the only instance of its kind. Mike Berry, an American notorious for his tele-fabrications about Afghanistan, had also been with the band that reduced the Village Yakhchal to a heap of flaming ruins in which more than 100 people died. And all in order "documentary evid atrocities perpetra Afghan army."

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Wardak boasts bloodcurdling pictu now be able to tal

CAESAR IN A PO HELMET

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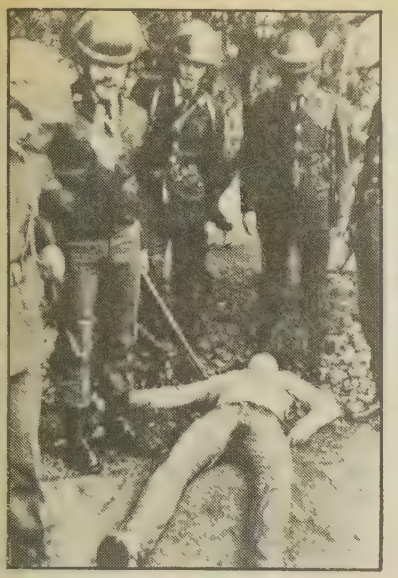


AMBASSADOR vs. PINOCHET?

On his 70th birthday General Pinochet gave a televized demonstration of his fitness by running, jumping and performing all kinds of gymnastics, including weightlifting, for a whole hour. The idea was to show Chileans that the caudillo was as full of beans as ever.

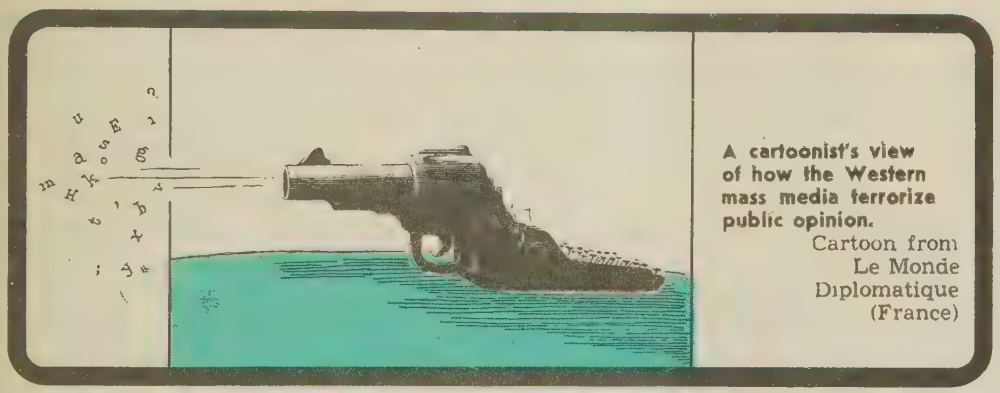
Clinging to power, Pinochet relies more and more on his machine of coercion. AFP-TASS telephoto

Meanwhile, U.S. Ambassador in Santiago Harry Barnes, a well-known expert in destabilizing regimes not suited to the United States, was busy on the q.t. arranging contacts with the opposition to the Pinochet regime. So far, the French journal Révolution says, Barnes has taken "some action" in defence of human rights. American-style human rights of course. With the aim most likely of substituting one U.S. placeman with another, equally loyal to Washington but less odious to the Chilean people. Evidently the White House considers that notwithstanding the dictator's petty TV exhibition, his time is running out.

A justified conclusion, considering that despite the intensified repressions, resistance to the fascist regime is steadily mounting. The abysmal poverty and the orgy of violence indulged in by the Pinochet regime have prepared the ground for the social explosion Washington dreads too much.

In Santiago itself there already are zones where Pinochet's punitive forces do not dare to show their faces, the Argentinian newspaper Que Pasa writes. There are indeed more than 20 such zones—the working-class districts. And some 40 per cent of all the country's working people are concentrated there. A formidable force.

Y. KNYAZEV



A cartoonist's view of how the Western mass media terrorize public opinion. Cartoon from Le Monde Diplomatique (France)

policemen were ejected. When after a while they regained admittance, one of the policemen tried to bring Mrs Jarrett around. However, she died on arrival at hospital.

Here is the other version. Cynthia was sitting with her three children watching television when suddenly she heard a noise in the hallway and ran out to see what it was. Her eldest daughter Patricia, aged 23, heard her mother shout that the house was full of policemen. She rushed out and saw three policemen and one plainclothesman. They said Cynthia's son had been arrested for stealing (the charge subsequently proved to be unfounded) and that they had come to search the place. They had opened the front door with a key taken from the arrested Jarrett junior. During the search Patricia asked for the search warrant and the names of all four. She was not shown the warrant and of the four guardians of the law only the plainclothesman said his name was Michael Randall. It was he who had knocked down with his shoulder the mistress of the house on bursting into a back room. With difficulty, the daughter managed to lift her onto a chair and rushed off to fetch some medicine and call an ambulance. When she returned she found her mother collapsed on the floor. Meanwhile, Randall continued the search in the same room as though nothing had happened.

The first version of the incident is the one given by the police who raided the house. The second is the account given by one of the victims, Patricia Jarrett.

Question: which version will the office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) consider authentic? A purely rhetorical question, for it is of course unthinkable that the police should a) break into a house and search it without a warrant, b) be guilty of ungentlemanly behaviour towards a lady, and c) give inaccurate testimony. The DPP therefore found no grounds for prosecution. The police, like Caesar's wife, are above suspicion. Especially in cases involving dark-skinned women who for no obvious reason collapse in a faint and die.

Y. ZHITOMIRSKY

The Wind Is Fair

The Soviet merchant marine, an important branch of the national economy, helps raise the economic potential of Western Siberia and the adjacent Arctic areas by carrying cargoes and passengers to those parts of the country. A steady and timely goods delivery promotes, to a no small extent, economic and social development, the strategy of accelerating which has been approved by the 27th CPSU Congress.

Merchant shipping today is a matter of millions of tons of goods carried from country to country and from continent to continent. But there is also a protracted crisis in this important area of the world economy, the result of overproduction of ships as well as of the phenomenon of "flags of convenience." And there are other indications, too, of the state of world shipping.

These and other problems are discussed by Timofei GUZHENKO, Minister of Merchant Marine of the U.S.S.R., in an interview with New Times correspondent Vladimir Godyna.

T. Guzhenko. Are you going to ask me first how Soviet seamen met the targets of the 11th five-year plan?

New Times. So it's you who are going to ask questions!

T. Guzhenko. Not at all. But I'm not mistaken, am I? Well, we have met the targets for the 11th five-year plan. But I must say that the final year proved to be more difficult than we had anticipated. As for our international operations, I may as well confess in retrospect that there was a moment when we had doubts that we would meet the 1985 target. A severe winter which froze the Danube and the Sea of Azov, emergency assignments to deliver cargoes to ports in the Far North—all this diverted a sizable proportion of the vessels normally engaged in foreign shipping. And the planned target was high enough as it was.

As you see, we are very much involved in implementing the Communist Party's programme for the accelerated economic development of Western Siberia and the adjacent Arctic regions. We had no right to waste time. We had of course to forgo some operations that held a promise of immediate profit and to regroup, as they say. As a result, we have gained a whole year.

Now, thanks to the dedicated work of all the seamen and land personnel we have left all this behind us and can come to grips with the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress.

The main task for the merchant marine in the second half of the 1980s remains the same: to meet the Soviet economy's demand for the transportation of international and coastal cargo by sea. It will be hard work in many ways.

Take, for instance, the jobs of prospecting for and developing minerals, especially fuel. These are moving further and further to the east and north of the country. To meet the transportation needs of these industries we are constantly getting new multipurpose and specialized Arctic vessels of various sizes. This process, which began ten years ago, will continue in the years to come.

New Times. Yes, today people take it for granted. And yet only recently, in 1977, you headed a scientific expedition on board the atomic ship Arktika, the first surface vessel in history to reach the North Pole. But my next question is: which of the issues discussed at the Party congress and which of its decisions most immediately affect the Soviet merchant marine and are of concern to seamen?

T. Guzhenko. All the issues and all the decisions. I think every seaman, every dock worker and engineer shares that opinion. You can judge for yourself. We are directly affected by decisions on the use of the latest achievements in engineering and electronics, participation in world economic development and international relations on the seas.

The new overall objective of intensifying production set by the congress has to be tackled in a new way, taking account of all the nuances in the complex and sensitive relationship between man and production. To us, for instance, the undisputed rule, the supertask, if you like, in operating a merchant ship has always been to cut the time the vessel spends in port and under repair and correspondingly increase its operating time. To put it in simple terms, the more time the ship's main engine is in operation every week, month and year, the more freight will be transported by sea. While this remains our policy, we must also look at the industry's development from a different angle. I mean the improvement of the fleet itself. We are thinking about a vessel of the future that would incorporate the latest achievements of technology and the most recent decisions in the social sphere.

So, on the one hand, we are going to reequip our shipping facilities on a regular basis to keep abreast of world progress or ahead of it, which, incidentally, is impossible without more economical machines at sea and on land. On the other hand, we must take better care of people. It is no secret that some of our ships have larger crews than comparable ships in Western countries. We cannot of course have our seamen work longer hours, as some foreign countries do. But we can and must use science and technology to facilitate the crew's work and introduce automatic control of stable processes on board.

New Times. The expression "a ship

of the future" conjures up images from science fiction.

T. Guzhenko. Perhaps I have misused the phrase. I should have said "the ship of the near future." The groundwork for this future is being laid even now. We have no time to lose.

The ship of the future is a highly specialized or multipurpose diesel vessel and in the future, perhaps, a nuclear powered vessel. The modern diesel industry can, in principle, manufacture ships' engines that use 25-30 per cent less fuel than the existing models.

Everyone understands that energy consumption is the key factor in making transportation more economical. Another factor is the specialization of a vessel to carry specific types of cargo between chosen ports. Such specialization of ports and vessels holds out the promise of great cuts in the time spent in port, and hence of making sea transport more efficient. But not all cargoes can be specialized. The technology of container transportation has been a major step forward in overcoming the difficulties of handling small batches of diverse goods.

The technology of carrying small batches of consumer goods in 20- and 40-ton containers was prompted by the need to save time and labour in loading operations.

Add to this the automation of onboard processes which would reduce the crew of a 15,000-20,000-ton vessel to 13-15 people, and you have a picture of the ship of the near future. To get the most out of these vessels we need extremely reliable engines and mechanisms, an efficient maintenance service during brief stops in ports and, last but not least, a failsafe system of navigation instruments that ensures a 100 per cent navigation safety.

New Times. What is the general pattern of international seaborne cargo transportation?

T. Guzhenko. In 1984 (the last year for which statistics are available) 3,300 million tons of various cargoes were transported by sea. Oil and petroleum products accounted for slightly more than a third of that amount. However, the transportation of oil and its derivatives has been steadily declining over the past five years, which has been paralleled by a corresponding, though not very rapid, growth in the transportation of coal. The total amount of five main bulk cargoes—iron ore, coal, grain, bauxites and phosphates—transported by sea in 1984 was a little over 800 million tons.

But it is not the drop in seaborne cargo transportation that threatens shipowners with bankruptcy.

The real sword of Damocles threatening the prosperity of every shipowner in the Western world is the prolonged depression in international shipping due to the excess carrying capacity of the world fleet. Moreover, the excess fleet, which is engaged in tough competition for employment, is constantly being replenished by newly constructed vessels. This is a remarkable and uncontrolled phenomenon, a paradox of the capitalist mode of production.

New Times. Still, I suppose it would be naive to ascribe the present crisis in shipping simply to the play of market forces. Behind the chronic depression of freight markets one discerns with increasing clarity the deliberate pressure of powerful forces commanding vast financial resources and exercising strong political leverage. The question suggests itself: who stands to gain from it? Who benefits from the debilitating competition on the international sea lanes?

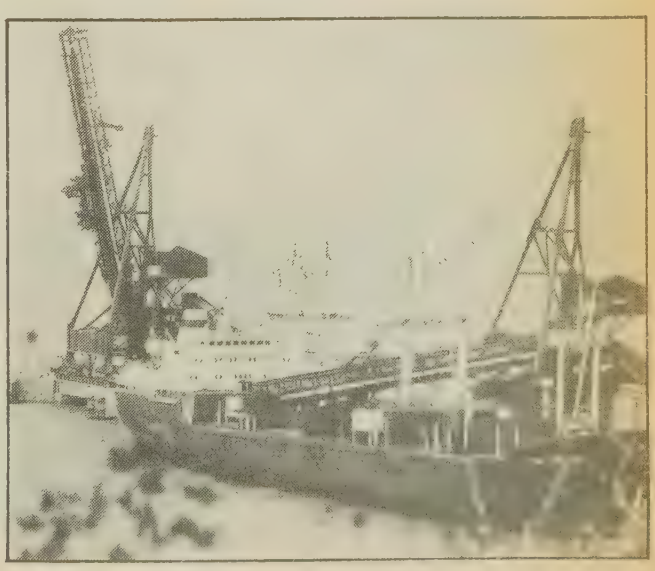
T. Guzhenko. Let me try to answer your question. The root of the evil lies with the transnational corporations which play an essential, if not the dominant, role in the chronic excess of capacity that has plagued the world fleet. Consider the situation. Sources of raw materials that are relatively close are being depleted. The distance to new minerals has increased. Transporting raw materials and minerals to be processed in industrialized countries accounts for a constantly increasing share of production costs.

For many years now the transnationals have been using their financial institutions to feed shipbuilders artificially with easy-term credits in one form or another. This is aided by financial legislation in the leading capitalist countries which makes it possible to amortize the capital invested in a new freighter in a matter of years. Under these conditions the market demand for and supply of sea transport services, far from regulating the situation in the world shipping, makes any reliable forecasts difficult. This happens because it is impossible to separate the market processes inside the industry from an artificial but steady inflow of capital from outside.

If one looks at the drop in transportation costs from a purely economic angle, in isolation from other factors, one can only welcome what is happening in world shipping today. But consider the cost at which cheaper transportation is achieved.

In their struggle to cut transportation

These two ports—Odessa on the Black Sea (left) and Vostochny on the Pacific (you can see its coal terminal on the photo right)—lie on almost the same latitude but at opposite ends of our vast country.



costs—indeed in their struggle for survival—shipowners in developed capitalist countries increasingly frequently resort to flying so-called "open" registration flags, i.e., the flags of those countries whose legislation permits them to hire crews from developing countries for a pittance.

But what is the result? Unemployment among seamen from the traditional seafaring powers of Europe. The strengthening of the social and economic infrastructure of neocolonialism. And hypocritical laments about the fast-shrinking fleets under the flags of Common Market and other Western countries. These are hypocritical laments because the real owners of the ships in "open" registration countries retain financial and administrative control over their ships. And, most importantly, the profits from operating these vessels also go to Western countries.

It also has to be said that a surplus of world tonnage, like any artificial phenomenon, means a waste of social labour, notably in shipbuilding. The transnationals benefit from the surplus in shipping mainly because it provides them with leverage in the transport markets.

New Times. The Soviet merchant fleet is active in international marine shipping. So, the negative processes you mention also affect the operations of our shipping companies.

T. Guzhenko. Of course, we feel the impact of these difficulties too, although not as much as our Western colleagues. Our shipping lines too are faced with the constantly growing cost of using Western ports. Nor are we immune to fluctuations in currency rates. And the depression in freight markets is making inroads into the credit side of our fleet's balance books.

So, for objective reasons, we favour the stabilization of the world shipping economy and mutually beneficial cooperation.

Unfortunately, this is not yet a prevalent approach. One frequently hears the accusation that the Soviet Union is to blame for many of the woes brought about by the present shipping crisis, an idea that is readily taken up and exploited by Western journalists.

Although these accusations are groundless, they are repeated with unusual persistence. The reasonable argument that the Soviet merchant fleet comes to only one fifteenth of the combined tonnage controlled by the Western countries is rejected. And yet for that reason alone our fleet cannot claim to play the expansionist role that is ascribed to it. Ignoring these uncomfortable facts, the anti-Sovieteers continue to harp on the "communist threat" on the sea lanes. The underlying aim is obvious, if ambiguous. While accusing our merchant fleet of expansion and other sins, the idea is being suggested of developing a set of rules to be applied to "countries with state-controlled foreign trade," i.e., for the socialist countries.

Those who advocate double standards in world shipping do not do so because the U.S.S.R. threatens the existence of the merchant fleet in any Western country or group of countries. It is just another attempt to legalize protectionism as an instrument of modern shipping policy. This is not protectionism in the familiar meaning of the word when a country grants preferential treatment to its own fleet in the context of national rules and prescriptions. It is aggressive protectionism which, in its foreign political thrust, often develops into a political attack on those who think differently. For appearance's sake, the proscribing formulas of this onslaught are couched in supranational terms as, for instance, the single shipping policy of the Common Market which is being intensively discussed in Brussels.

New Times. But how does one square protectionism with the official declarations of free competition, free trade and shipping so popular in the Common Market and the United States and indeed in other capitalist countries? How do these things tally with the policies of Western countries?

T. Guzhenko. This is the paradox of the present-day international shipping policies of Western countries.

However, any impartial observer will see that the Western countries only talk about free navigation and free competition as long as it concerns the access of ships flying the flags of the Common Market, NATO, and other economic and political groupings of developed capitalist countries to the transportation markets and ports of the developing and socialist countries. The same provisions are, under various pretexts, turned on their heads when it comes to freedom of trade and navigation and equal relations for shippers from the CMEA and developing countries.

New Times. Could you give an example?

T. Guzhenko. Here's a fresh example. In November last year the transport

For the first time in the history of wintertime navigation in the northeast of the U.S.S.R. the icebreaker Magadan cut the way for the diesel-electric ship Kapitan Kondratyev from the seaport of Magadan to Varkhalam Inlet through the ice of the Sea of Okhotsk. They brought supplies to the remote North Evensk Region. Below: The expedition's staff at work; the atomic icebreaker Rossiya in the Arctic waters.

ministers of Britain, France, the F.R.G., Holland and Belgium declared their intention to impose strict controls on the commercial activities of Soviet companies whose ships call at the ports of any of the five countries, transporting freight on regular lines to the Far East, East Africa and Central America.

We replied that we disagreed with such a discriminatory regime. It is not only fundamentally unfair, but it contradicts the existing intergovernmental treaties and agreements on trade and navigation. We have made it clear that we would have to retaliate by introducing corresponding measures in Soviet ports. But, since problems have arisen, we have offered to resolve them through negotiation, provided of course the other side shows good will.

Nevertheless, in an unprecedented move last March, the British Department of Transport got a bill through parliament establishing control over the commercial conditions of freight transportation on Soviet vessels. The amazing thing is that the British government used as the pretext for imposing such controls allegations that the Soviet government had approved measures or practices that were or could be damaging to the commercial and shipping interests of Great Britain. And this proposal was put before the British parliament two weeks after the Intergovernmental Commission for Cooperation in the Fields of Applied Science, Technology, Trade and Economic Relations held in London in February had approved plans for expanded trade and economic links between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. Does the right hand know what the left is doing? It should know.

New Times. What was the reaction on the part of British shipowners to the Transport Department's move?

T. Guzhenko. They said that American and Taiwanese fleets were more serious competition for them than the Soviet fleet. But who cares if some political leaders obviously proceed not from facts but from preconceived notions? As they say in such cases, if the facts interfere with your line of behaviour so much the worse for the facts.

This is the background to the anti-Soviet campaign in international navigation clearly being pursued at the promptings of the senior partners in Western military and political groupings.

New Times. However, the facts show that the regional conflicts which Reagan's neoglobalist doctrine seeks to foment are harmful to international shipping.

T. Guzhenko. There are examples galore. Take, for instance, the situation in the Persian Gulf, the mining of the approaches to Nicaragua's ports by the Central Intelligence Agency, and the American air raids on Libyan towns and ports.

New Times. You were a delegate at the 27th CPSU Congress. What to you was its most memorable moment?

T. Guzhenko. Having taken part in the work of several previous congresses, I can confidently say that every congress is a milestone in the life of the Party and the Soviet people. Results are reviewed, prospects are discussed and plans approved.

But the 27th Congress was a very special event. The very atmosphere in which it worked, its emotional and businesslike mood—all this was unusual, impressive and at the same time marked by a very human touch. It is hard for me to single out one particular moment. I would go so far as to say that there were no secondary matters; all the problems to which the congress addressed itself were important, urgent and pressing.

You will of course remember that speakers at the congress boldly criticized everything that impeded Soviet economic development. The critical approach, the profound scientific analysis of our omissions and miscalculations in the past is a guarantee of our future successes and a source of strength. And I can certainly say on behalf of Soviet seamen that it is a strength we are going to use to sweep aside everything that has outlived itself, and make rapid progress, think, act, work and live in keeping with the Party's new strategy of acceleration.

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Soviet Shipping magazine and TASS photos

Concern for the future of our planet pervades the proposal advanced by sponsors of the U.N. Environment Programme to mark June 5, World Environment Day, by planting a tree of peace in every country. The birch tree planted in Friendship Park, Moscow, will be a symbol of people's desire for peace. Representatives of Party and public organizations, executives of ministries and government departments, charged with protecting the environment took part in the ceremony. The fight for peace is not only a movement for disarmament, it is also a struggle to keep the human habitat pure. It is not only we who live today that need peace, but also those who will live on our planet tomorrow. Our country takes an active part in realizing the objectives of the International Year of Peace, vigorously working to develop cooperation in the protection of the natural environment in which the U.N. Environment Programme plays an important role, a Soviet government statement, issued on the occasion of World Environment Day, emphasizes.

Planting the tree of peace.

TASS photo

"The future challenge is to make SALT irreversible. But as the Arab saying goes, 'it takes two hands to clap.' Both Soviets and Americans must see that it is in their security interests to keep the first agreements and build on them," one of the architects of the SALT process, Gerard Smith, the U.S. chief delegate at the SALT-1 talks, said in his memoirs "Doubletalk. The Story of SALT-1," published a few years ago. Whose hand is missing today?

The subject is discussed by Lieutenant General VICTOR STARODUBOV.

American Gambits

Will the United States reject the SALT-2 accord and "break free" of its restrictions on strategic offensive armaments? This question is now closed: on May 27 President Ronald Reagan announced the United States' refusal to comply thereinafter with the Soviet-American accords on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons, including the 1972 Interim Agreement on certain measures with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive arms and the 1979 Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (SALT-2). Ronald Reagan said that in taking any future decision on the buildup of American strategic forces, the U.S. will no longer consider itself bound by those documents.

The U.S. thus took another step in pursuit of its policy of strength, prompted by the interests of the military-industrial complex and the imperialist ambitions of the present Administration. It is also another step towards jettisoning the gains as regards limitation and reduction of armaments achieved in the 70s.

September 1979. Shortly after his return from Vienna, where the SALT-2 treaty had been signed, the then U.S. President, Jimmy Carter, announced his decision to speed up work on a new intercontinental ballistic missile, the MX, and to push ahead with a number of other arms buildup programmes.

December 1979. A session of the NATO Council, yielding to U.S. pressure, approved a plan to produce—and deploy in Western Europe—108 Pershing 2 ballistic missiles and 464 ground-launched cruise missiles. Washington thus set about building an additional strategic potential to circumvent the strategic balance on which the SALT-2 treaty rested.

January 1980. The White House postponed a Senate debate on the ratification of the SALT-2 treaty. The final decision not to ratify it was taken by the newly-installed Administration.

> **THE U.S.S.R. AND THE U.S.A. ARE NOT STRIVING AND WILL NOT STRIVE FOR MILITARY SUPERIORITY SINCE THAT CAN ONLY RESULT IN DANGEROUS INSTABILITY, GENERATING HIGHER LEVELS OF ARMAMENTS WITH NO BENEFIT FOR THE SECURITY OF EITHER PARTY.**
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> From the statement by the leaders of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. on signing the SALT-2 treaty
> Vienna, June 1979

October 1981. U.S. President Ronald Reagan announced a comprehensive strategic programme, which envisages the further buildup of the U.S. strategic offensive potential with a view to improving every type of U.S. strategic armament — ICBMs, SLBMs, heavy bombers and long-range cruise missiles in different basing modes — so that they could be used in a first "incapacitating" strike. That programme could only have been carried out in violation of the SALT accords.

March 1983. The White House made public its "star wars" plan which later came to be known as the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI). The American strategists conceived the programme, firstly, to develop the potential for a first strike at the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries with impunity thanks to a defence against Soviet retaliation, and, secondly, to upgrade U.S. offensive potential with space-based weapons capable of carrying out a direct attack on key targets in enemy territory.

The idea of developing multi-tier ABM defences for U.S. territory grossly contravenes the main stipulations of the ABM treaty, a ban on the deployment of ABM defences of the country or space-based components of such defences.

Later, Washington began to deploy its new missiles, ballistic Pershing 2s and cruises in the territories of its European allies, thus openly violating an obligation under Article 12 of the SALT-2 treaty not to circumvent its stipulations in any way.

There can be no ambiguity here. When the treaty was being drafted, the American experts themselves clearly defined circumvention as any means or action by which either party attempts to upset the strategic balance which should be guaranteed by the present Agreement. This is clear, as the treaty could only have been concluded on the basis of strategic balance. Pershing 2s and cruises deployed within reach of Soviet territory are strategic weapons with regard to the U.S.S.R. and, therefore, by deploying them in the European continent the U.S. is adding to its strategic potential.

This year the United States is planning, again in violation of the ABM treaty, to complete the installation of a new large radar station at Thule in Greenland. Such a radar station, an early warning facility, can be deployed under Article 6 of the ABM treaty only along the periphery of the national territory and oriented outward. The U.S. is also violating another stipulation of the ABM treaty, an agreed statement expanding on Article 6, which regulates the deployment of large phased-array radars. The radar in Greenland does not fit into any category allowed by that stipulation.

Apart from the new missile deployments in Europe, till last year neither the Interim Agreement nor the SALT-2 treaty constituted a significant constraint on the United States: Washington had to dismantle 168 strategic carriers, including 16 under the SALT-2 treaty (the Soviet Union simultaneously dismantled 540 and 93 such carriers, respectively).

The first major obstacle to the U.S. strategic programmes arose in late 1985, when the seventh Ohio-type atomic-powered submarine with ballistic missiles had been built. To comply with the ceiling stipulated by the SALT-2 treaty on MIRVed strategic missiles, Washington was to scrap one of its Poseidon submarines carrying such missiles. The second test of the U.S. commitment to the SALT accords came last May, when the eighth Ohio submarine had been put through sea trials. By that time the United States had 1,198 ballistic missile launchers for MIRVed missiles. The treaty had put the ceiling at 1,200 launchers. The Ohio submarine has 24 launchers, so at least 22 had to be scrapped to comply with the treaty. Since each Poseidon has just 16 launchers, two submarines of that class had to be scrapped. The hawkish makers of militarist policy in Washington launched another attack on the treaty and gained the upper hand: the White House announced that as soon as the 131 B-52 heavy bombers have been modernized to carry cruise missiles, the United States will exceed the ceiling of 1,320

> THE UNITED STATES SHOULD NOT GIVE UP ARMS FOR THE SAKE OF TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS... THE RUSSIANS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO CATCH UP WITH US.
>
> From statements by Ronald Reagan in 1981

units under the SALT-2 treaty. According to the U.S. Defence Secretary, this is likely to happen in August-September.

The President and other Administration officials emphasized in their propaganda statements just one aspect of the U.S. strategic rearmament plan, the violation of the arms limitation accords with regard to heavy bombers modernized to carry cruise missiles, leaving aside other problems which are likely to arise in the immediate future. If Washington continued to respect the SALT-2 treaty, it would be hard put as early as this year fitting into the restrictions more than 20 advanced B-1B heavy bombers with such missiles, and the number is to be increased. There will be a problem with the 9th, 10th and subsequent Ohio submarines as Washington is to have a fleet of 20 of them. Moreover, the deployment of 100 MX missiles mentioned by the U.S. President in his statement will also have to be reconciled with the SALT-2 treaty: all those armaments can be deployed only if an equivalent number of fairly up-to-date launchers, Poseidon C-3 SLBMs or Minuteman-3 ICBMs, are scrapped.

But this is not the end of the story. The "comprehensive strategic programme" envisages the development of the new ICBM, the Midgetman (there is talk now even of a Mobileman), or, as the U.S. President put it, small ICBMs. The SALT-2 treaty allows just one new type of ICBMs and the United States has already developed a new missile, the MX. This means that the development of either of the above "small ICBMs" cannot be reconciled with the treaty at all.

Ronald Reagan has said that the SALT-2 treaty provided not for the reduction but for an increase in arms. The fact is that it has been a hindrance to his country in the building up of its strategic offensive potential.

This is the prime reason that prompted the White House to renege on its political commitment to refrain from undermining the SALT-2 treaty, and also to renounce the Interim Agreement of 1972.

Washington is now making desperate attempts to explain its decision as a forced measure in response to the Soviet Union's "lack of restraint" with regard to strategic offensive weapons and its "failure" to comply with the SALT accords. This is nothing short of an attempt to denigrate the policy of the other side in order to justify its own efforts to scuttle a treaty system that checks the nuclear arms race and creates the preconditions for the conclusion of new accords.

The Soviet side has more than once exposed Washington's attempts falsely to accuse the Soviet Union. Every new high in this campaign of charges against the U.S.S.R. has coincided with preparations for the adoption of new military buildup programmes or with seeking Congressional approval for greater military spending.

The U.S.S.R. is not to blame. It has complied honestly with its obligation, strictly in accordance with its basic policy of preventing war and ending the arms race. We are still calling for respect of the commitments under the SALT-2 treaty and other Soviet-American agreements on a reciprocal basis. We are showing patience and restraint in the hope that common sense will at last prevail in Washington and that the Administration will take proper measures to rectify the situation.

Yet it should be clear that the Soviet Union will not watch passively as Washington violates the strategic arms limitation accords. The Soviet government firmly stated on May 31: if the

> THE TASK AT PRESENT IS FOR BOTH SIDES TO ABIDE BY THE TWO EXISTING TREATIES ON ARMS CONTROL, I.E., THE TREATY BETWEEN THE U.S.S.R. AND THE U.S.A. ON THE LIMITATION OF ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEMS AND THE SALT-2 TREATY. THIS IS IN OUR INTERESTS INASMUCH AS IT ALSO FACILITATES GENUINE STEPS TOWARDS DISARMAMENT.
>
> F.R.G. Minister of Foreign Affairs
> Hans Dietrich Genscher
>
> WE WISH IT [SALT-2 TREATY] STILL TO BE RESPECTED ON BOTH SIDES AND HOPE IT WILL CONTINUE TO BE SO.
>
> British Prime Minister
> Margaret Thatcher
>
> June 1986

United States exceeds fixed arms levels or violates in any other manner the basic stipulations of the accords on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons, the U.S.S.R. will consider itself free of its obligations under the 1972 Interim Agreement and the SALT-2 treaty and will take appropriate practical measures to prevent military-strategic parity from being upset. We will continue to do everything possible reliably to guarantee the security of the socialist community and strengthen international security.

The Right to Work—Two Approaches

NIKOLAI KARPUKHIN and VLADIMIR LIZUN

The right to work is one of the basic human rights, the prime precondition of the free development of the individual. It is recorded in such fundamental U.N. documents as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Questions relating to this multifaceted problem are invariably in the centre of discussions in the International Labour Organization.

In the economically advanced capitalist countries as well as in the developing countries the right to work is one of the most urgent social and economic problems. This explains why Western politicians and capitalist-minded leaders of international organizations are compelled, at least in words, to concede the necessity of abiding by the existing covenants.

It is becoming increasingly difficult to close one's eyes to the real state of affairs on the labour market. Last autumn International Labour Office director-general Francis Blanchard, facing the facts squarely, said: "Unemployment remains the most urgent problem because it erodes the social organism and in the final analysis places in jeopardy the social concensus and institutions and undermines future development." This erosion, it should be added, has gone so far as to threaten not only the "concensus" (if it can be said to exist) but the very foundations of social development in the industrial countries of the West.

According to ILO figures, in the EEC countries 12.7 million people — 11.2 per cent of the labour force—are jobless. The total number of "redundant" in the capitalist countries exceeds 30 million. And this according to official statistics, which, as has been demonstrated time and again, tend to embellish the real situation. Objective studies show that unemployment in developed capitalist countries actually exceeds 40 million. As for the developing countries, unemployment there has reached dimensions that defy any accurate assessment.

The crucial thing is not so much the extent of unemployment as its steadily accelerating growth rate. In the F.R.G., for instance, the number of jobless has increased in the past ten years from 1.1 million fo 2.6 million, in Britain, from 900,000 to 3.2 million, in France, from 900,000 to 2.4 million, and in Italy, from 1.2 million to 3 million.

These figures relate to a period when the industrial capitalist countries managed on the whole to emerge from the cyclical crisis of the early 1980s, and hence, going by past experience, a notable decline in unemployment might have been expected. However, this time economic recovery has resulted in no appreciable decline in unemployment in most of the developed capitalist countries. In the United States, for instance, the figure is still 200,000 above the level of the crisis year of 1975.

One of the characteristic features is the widening of the social spectrum of the unemployed. Whereas in the recent past job opportunities were no great problem for, say, engineers and technicians or government employees, now many of these are faced with the very real prospect of losing their jobs. In the U.S., more than half of all college graduates are unable to find work in their specialties. In the F.R.G., the number of unemployed university graduates has quadrupled in the past four years.

Job openings have become increasingly rare in recent years. In Britain, 13.7 per cent of the total number of unemployed had been out of work for more than a year in 1975, and 39.4 per cent in 1985. In France, the corresponding figures were 21.7 in 1973 and nearly 34 per cent at the beginning of the 1980s. In the F.R.G., the relevant percentages were 12.8 and about 30.

"The socio-economic delayed-action bomb may go off very soon," was the opinion voiced by ILO experts in a study made in August last year. One can hardly disagree with this assessment. However, the question arises: what are the conclusions drawn from this by the ILO, whose mission it is to uphold the interests of working people everywhere?

Regrettably, its deeds do not match its words. For instance, no convention on the right to work has yet been adopted even though the need for such a document has been keenly felt for many years.

True, some ILO documents do touch upon some aspects of the employment problem. For example, Convention 122 adopted in 1964 makes it incumbent on the countries affiliated with the organization to pursue an active policy aimed at promoting full, productive and freely chosen employment. But even ILO experts admit that this policy is hopelessly outdated.

No unbiassed observer will deny that unemployment is today perhaps the paramount problem facing the working people of the capitalist countries. Therefore it is wrong just to list it among other "basic needs," as ILO leading circles often do. With this approach the problem will not be given due attention.

Speaking of matching the deed to the word, other instances besides the convention on the right to work could be cited. Latterly certain elements in the ILO have been doing their utmost to make it appear as if the rights of the working people and the trade unions

Unemployment weighs down so heavily in the capitalist world that even periodical economic recoveries no longer bring any relief.

Cartoon from Der Spiegel

are being violated in the socialist countries. What is passed over in silence is that in the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries the right to work has been written into their Constitutions and is understood as the right of every citizen to obtain employment in his chosen field. Effective legal guarantees are provided by the labour legislation of the U.S.S.R. and its constituent republics. The organizational and socio-economic guarantees of the right to work are our economic development plans, the state systems for the provision of jobs, vocational training, etc.

It is in place to bring yet another thing to the attention of those who are seeking to divert the attention of the ILO from the main problems to secondary and at times obviously far-fetched issues. In the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries legislative guarantees of full employment presuppose the equal right to work for all, irrespective of sex, age, nationality, party affiliation, religious beliefs, etc. In a number of cases additional guarantees are provided for specific groups, women and young people, for instance. These guarantees are by no means purely formal. As a striking confirmation of this one might cite the percentage of women engaged in mental labour. In the U.S.S.R. three quarters of all teachers, two thirds of the doctors, about half of the engineers, and two fifths of the country's scientific research workers are women.

What is the situation in this sphere in the capitalist world? Here legal equality of job opportunities, wherever it exists, does not protect many categories of working people against discrimination in obtaining work. This applies primarily to women and young people, and also to national and ethnic minorities and immigrants who have less chance of being hired and are admitted to unskilled and low-paid occupations.

As a result, the unemployment rate among women in some countries is 50 per cent higher than among men. And their professional training is lower. In the United States, for instance, women account for only 15 per cent of the skilled workers. Women account for 2 per cent of the engineers and 9 per cent of the scientific workers. In the U.S.S.R. the percentages are 22 times and nearly five times higher respectively.

Youth unemployment is an increasingly acute problem in the West. No less than 40 per cent of all unemployed in the developed capitalist countries are under 25 years of age. The rate of unemployment among young people is at least double the national average.

Still worse is the position of the national minorities and immigrant workers. According to official figures, at the beginning of the 1980s unemployment among black Americans was roughly double that among the white population. Besides discrimination in hiring, there is also discrimination on the job. For example, the percentage of blacks among the engineers, technicians and administrative employees is half of their percentage in the population. Immigrant workers find themselves in a similar position in the West European countries. In the F.R.G. foreign workers accounted in the early 1980s for more than 53 per cent of the unskilled workers, some 20 per cent of the semi-skilled, and only six per cent of the highly skilled.

It should be underscored once again that the absence of a general convention seriously complicates the solution of the employment problem in the interests of the working people. In the meantime the question of control over the observance of existing ILO documents is becoming steadily more urgent. This applies primarily to discrimination for political reasons. It is no secret that in some countries such discrimination has been given the force of law. For instance , in some states of the F.R.G. decrees on radicals were issued in 1972, and these have led to the shameful Burefsverbot—discrimination on political grounds—which has become standard practice virtually throughout the country. More than a million persons have been subjected to "loyalty tests" and some 6,000, mostly progressives, have been dismissed from work under these decrees between 1972 and 1981. Similar discrimination is practised in relation to employees of government departments and organizations in the United States, Britain, Sweden and some other capitalist countries.

It is difficult to say how many have been subjected to this political victimization. There are, of course, no official figures. However, in the opinion of experts one out of every six government employees has to take these loyalty tests. The practice has been extended also to workers and office employees in the private sector. In Sweden, more than 70,000 government employees and applicants for government jobs were dismissed or not hired on the strength of police recommendations in 1985.

Although discriminatory measures are formally banned in the private sector almost everywhere, employers make wide use of them. Here the basic method has been for many years that of the notorious black lists.

The use of forced labour in Western industrial countries, and primarily the United States, is a shocking fact in our time. In 1979, 118 years after the abolition of slavery, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights had to admit officially that the status of millions of migrant farm workers in the country was not too far from slavery. In the early 1980s dozens of legal actions were taken annually in cases involving forced slavery. In a number of West European countries there has developed the practice of "voluntary slavery," that is, a system of hiring illegal immigrants for work in the most inhuman conditions.

"Economic development and social development are essentially not two different things, Francis Blanchard said. "In reality, there is only one kind of development, which should be at once both economic and social, inasmuch as the ends and the means cannot be separated from one another. Development should proceed without encroaching on the fundamental human rights."

True enough. But it would be still better if those who largely determine the position of the ILO backed these words with concrete actions. And the sooner the better. For the situation as regards employment is continuing to worsen. "The capitalism of the 1980s, the capitalism of the age of electronics and information science, computers and robots," it was pointed out in the political report of the Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the CPSU, "is leaving more millions of people, including young and educated people, without jobs."

Obstructionism

The unanimous decision adopted by the U.N. General Assembly last autumn to convene a representative international conference to discuss the concrete relationship between disarmament and development was welcomed all over the world. Its venue and dates were also agreed upon: it is to be held in Paris, July 15-August 2, 1986.

The conference is expected to give an impetus to active measures and steps aimed at ending the arms race, reducing arms and cutting military spending, all of which is essential to the solution of increasingly acute global problems such as economic backwardness, starvation and disease.

Rechannelling the enormous resources now being squandered on arms buildup into constructive efforts would certainly serve the interests of all nations. The developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America stand in the greatest need of extra resources to speed up the rate of their socio-economic progress. Suffice it to say that just one per cent of the world's annual military spending could feed half a billion undernourished people in the Third World, and three per cent of the sum would be enough to eradicate illiteracy and the most dangerous diseases there.

The non-aligned movement, which is made up for the most part of newly independent countries, has always actively opposed the arms race and advocated disarmament—not only from a natural human desire to prevent a worldwide catastrophe, but also from the awareness that the reduction of military spending would release the money required for the needs of the young nations in their development.

No wonder therefore that the latest conference of foreign ministers of the non-aligned nations, held in Delhi last April under the auspices of the non-aligned nations' Coordinating Bureau, welcomed the U.N. General Assembly's decision to convene an international conference on disarmament and development in Paris this July. The ministers "considered it imperative to find a remedy for the existing situation in which hundreds of billions of dollars... are spent annually on weapons—a situation which stands in dramatic contrast to the poverty, and in some cases, misery in which two thirds of the world's population live." Members of the non-aligned movement expect the coming conference to offer concrete recommendations on ways and means of releasing, through disarmament, extra resources for the purpose of development, in particular in the interests of the developing countries.

It suddenly transpires, however, that the United States has declined to take part in the conference. Following it, France—the host country—has actually withdrawn and suggested that the conference be postponed till next year or even later. All this obviously amounts to an attempt to frustrate an important and topical international forum, which is all the more relevant now that imperialist militaristic forces are blocking agreements on concrete measures for disarmament, spurring on the arms race and even planning to spread it to outer space.

The United States' position (which can only be described as obstructionist) with regard to the conference is fresh evidence of Washington's unwillingness to take a constructive and concrete approach to the problem of arms reduction and help release the extra resources which could help the Third World to overcome its backwardness as soon as possible. This negative action has revealed once again Washington's great-power aspirations to bring pressure to bear on the entire U.N. system, which Washington cleary seeks to subject to its dictates. It is becoming increasingly obvious that getting a political dialogue under way and cooperating with the international community in resolving crucial world problems do not enter into Washington's plans.

Instead, Washington prefers to bang its fist on the table or to slam doors with imperial arrogance. It is enough to recall its walking out of UNESCO or slashing its contribution to the U.N. budget. And who if not the U.S. and some of its allies have for years been methodically foiling an international conference on the Indian Ocean to work out, on the non-aligned states' initiative, specific agreements on making this vast area a zone of peace? Following a U.N. resolution, such a conference was to have been held in Colombo in 1981. Now, in 1986, it is still unlikely to take place in the foreseeable future.

Instead of trying to reach mutually acceptable agreements and promoting international cooperation, the U.S. Administration is engaged in unrestrained militarization, and pursuing the policy of neoglobalism which means sending aircraft-carriers to the off-shore waters of recalcitrant independent states or even making them targets for air raids. Last April's attack on Libya is a case in point.

Incidentally, it was in April that Washington, simultaneously with ordering the air raid on Libyan cities, announced its decision to stay away from the conference on disarmament and development, thus publicly admitting that it wanted neither to reduce arms nor to promote the development of those who need it most—the Third World countries.

Small wonder therefore that in 75 or 80 per cent of cases or more the developing and non-aligned countries vote against the U.S. position in the United Nations. These countries, and many others for that matter, fail to march in step with Washington, and the current U.S. Administration is antagonizing the world community with its imperial stance and unrestrained militarism.

A staunch fighter for a world without wars and nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union is convinced that the militaristic principle of "armament instead of development" should be replaced by the reverse order of things—disarmament for development.

This is what U.S.-led imperialist quarters are opposed to, as is vividly manifested once again by their obstructionist stand with regard to the world forum on the relationship between disarmament and development proposed by the United Nations.

A. USVATOV

Twilight of a Dictatorship

EVGENY CHURILOV

The fall of dictatorships in a number of Latin American countries and increasingly vigorous protest action in Chile are having a growing effect on the situation in Paraguay—a prison state which has now been ruled by General Alfredo Stroessner and his reactionary military clique for 32 years.

A Stalled Economy

Grave economic crisis.... Factories operating at half capacity at best.... The building industry virtually paralyzed.... Up to four fifths of the incomes from traditional exports—soybeans, cotton, timber and tung oil—going into the payment of interest on a foreign debt that is appalling for a country with a population of four million—15 billion dollars. Such is the state of affairs in the Paraguayan economy today. No wonder that Latin American and West European countries are increasingly reluctant to grant new loans to the regime, whose corrupt chieftains have no scruples about embezzling public funds.

Paraguay's economic problems are symptomatic not merely of a cyclical crisis, but of the collapse of the "Paraguayan development model" geared to the production of farm products for export. Meat packing plants are now standing idle for want of orders. The benefits of last year's bumper crops of soybeans and cotton have been reduced to nothing by the plummeting of world market prices. Although the volume of exports has grown by 40 per cent, export earnings have gone down by six per cent. At the same time, the prices of bread, sugar and meat on the domestic market are climbing steadily, which hits working people hard. The national monetary unit, the guarani, was devalued by 75 per cent last January. As a result, the prices of various commodities have jumped still higher.

Dictator on a Powder Keg

The serious economic difficulties have catalyzed nationwide opposition to the dictatorship. Protest action by working people in town and countryside is gaining in scale. They have put forward political as well as economic demands. The student movement is assuming massive proportions. Discontent is spreading to the middle and even big bourgeoisie and part of the military.

At the end of April and early in May anti-government demonstrations swept a number of cities, the capital included, one of their predominant slogans being: "Yesterday Marcos and Duvalier, today Stroessner and Pinochet!" Police used firearms, electric truncheons (received recently from the U.S.), water guns and teargas grenades to disperse the demonstrators, killing and wounding several of them and arresting many opposition leaders.

The coalition of liberal bourgeois parties opposed to the regime and constituting the so-called National Democratic Concord held the biggest meeting of all in Asuncion's Italy Square on February 14. The meeting drew about 5,000 despite an intimidation campaign, police cordons and armoured cars which patrolled the area. The coalition is demanding a change in socio-economic policy.

Various peasant organizations have become markedly more active. The Permanent Assembly of Landless Peasants, set up recently, is calling for agrarian reform and protesting against forcing peasants off the latifundistas' uncultivated lands. Neighbours' committees are being established as a form of peasant mutual assistance. The Intersyndical Movement of the Working people, founded in May 1985, is making a substantial contribution to the fight against the dictatorship. The movement comprises the more militant trade unions.

University students are organizing demonstrations demanding a cut in tuition fees, larger allocations to education, and the lifting of the state of siege declared in 1954 and still in force.

Solidarity between factory workers, peasants and students is taking various forms. Powerless to cope with its political opponents using the army and police, the dictatorship is reviving the "city guards"—paramilitary fascist formations which played a sinister role in the May 1954 coup that installed Stroessner in power.

Bickering in the Ruling Party

The Buenos Aires paper Tiempo Argentino is of the opinion that opposition to his one-man rule in the ranks of the ruling Colorado Party presents the greatest threat to Stroessner. Friction of long standing between its two factions —the "activists" and the 'traditionalists" —has now developed into acute rivalry for the key positions in party leadership. (The "activists" are the most fanatical supporters of the dictator, and the "traditionalists," while being adherents of the regime, are displeased with the fact that the party governs only nominally, the real power being wielded by the upper echelons of the military.) The antagonism between the two trends is especially manifest in local organizations.

The army and police—the main forces which have enabled Stroessner to exercise absolute control over the country for years—are no longer as docile as they used to be. Firstly, claimants to the presidency and other top posts have appeared in the army and police force. And secondly, many young officers have come to realize that the dictatorship is paralyzing the country's economic, social and cultural development to an ever greater extent.

Anti-dictatorial feeling has been greatly intensified by the stand taken recently by the Catholic church which is now criticizing the authorities and advocating the idea of getting what is known as national dialogue under way.

All these facts give observers both within and outside Paraguay grounds for speaking of a serious crisis in the higher echelons of the regime. The Brazilian paper O Estado de São Paulo says outright that the corrupt Stroessner re-

gime has compromised itself and is nearing its end.

Stroessner Clings to Power

According to the Buenos Aires sources close to the government of Argentina, Stroessner is under strong pressure from the Paraguayan political and business quarters to step down. Reportedly, an agreement has been reached on his emigration to Switzerland.

General-President Stroessner, 73, is not going to make any concessions, however. He will not hear of resigning and is going to run for the presidency again at the next elections—provided, as he says, that "the ruling Colorado Party so decides." In order to show, for all to see, how hale and hearty he is, Stroessner attends practically all official ceremonies and receives up to 20 visitors daily. All this is given extensive TV and press coverage. Rumour has it that the President has no objections to handing over power to his son Gustavo, a lieutenant-colonel in the air force who is responsible for the Stroessner clan's property.

Hundreds of political prisoners, leaders of the working-class and peasant movement included, languish in jails. In August 1980 Stroessner's men in Buenos Aires kidnapped Antonio Maidana, First Secretary of the Paraguayan Communist Party, and Emilio Roa, a member of the Central Committee, who were in exile there. In order to cover up its tracks, the secret police transfers these patriots from jail to jail, and their fate remains unknown.

More than 360,000 persons have been incarcerated over the 32 years of Stroessner rule. About a million Paraguayans have had to leave the country in search of jobs or to escape reprisals.

Washington's Anxiety

Washington, which has been supporting Stroessner for decades, is now compelled to manoeuvre. They say that it is even seeking a replacement for him. The White House is determined to maintain an obedient regime in Paraguay, even if it means sacrificing Stroessner himself "Haiti style." Washington fears, not without reason, that the Stroessner regime, like that of Somoza in Nicaragua, could collapse.

Washington is considering a gradual changeover to bourgeois democratic rule in Paraguay by forming a "national concord" government composed of representatives from the major bourgeois parties and the armed forces. In an attempt to secure the support of Latin American countries for his policy of suppressing the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua, Ronald Reagan himself has recently publicly censured the Paraguayan regime. The U.S. Embassy in Asuncion is flirting, quite openly, with opposition party leaders and trade unionists, trying to convince them that Washington is interested in the democratization of Paraguay. U.S. ambassador Clyde Taylor's meetings with politicians and businessmen irk the dictator.

Most of the parties comprising the National Democratic Concord are officially banned from engaging in political activity. The coalition is increasingly active nevertheless, although its demands are confined to lifting the state of siege, cancelling repressive laws, releasing political prisoners, and introducing freedom of the press, assembly and organization. The coalition leaders are seeking changes which they refer to as "a peaceful transition from dictatorship to democracy." Pressure from the outside—especially the U.S.—is their main hope.

The Communists' Appeal

The Communist Party is calling on the nation to form a broad anti-dictatorship front. It believes it is high time to form united opposition committees. The prospective front, the Communists stress, cannot be built up on the basis of agreements between opposition party leaders alone. It must take shape in the course of organized action by the working class, the peasantry, students, office workers, tradesmen and business proprietors, professional people and clergymen—i.e., the broadest sections of the Paraguayan people.

This united front is objected to, however, by certain opposition leaders infected with anti-communism. The leaders of the National Democratic Concord, for instance, clearly lean towards conciliation and are afraid of mobilizing the masses. They are seeking to enter into negotiations with the regime—with the help of the U.S. embassy—to try and convince Stroessner of the need for liberalization and cooperation with the opposition on an anti-communist platform.

The dictator still has, of course, a fairly strong following in the government, the Colorado Party and among top-ranking army officers. Nonetheless, there are many indications—according to the French paper Le Monde—that Paraguay is awakening to the modern epoch. The country is clearly not what it used to be.

■

Baby Doc has fallen, and now it is Pinochet's and Stroessner's turn. Who will be the first to be thrown out!

Cartoon from Bohemia magazine (Cuba)

YOU ASK...

Your magazine reported that many mafia bosses have been on trial in Palermo, Italy. What progress has been made at the trial? And is the mafia now lying low in Italy?

N. VASILYEVA, Moscow

MAFIOSI BEHIND BARS

"I'm a man of honour.... I'm a mafioso.... And they are all murderers," said the man in dark glasses firmly. Sitting across from the presiding judge, he answered questions into a microphone so that everyone could hear. The man's name was Tommaso Buscetta. Four carabinieri with submachine guns shielded him from behind and from both sides against possible attacks from the defendants or the public. Buscetta named 467 mafiosi of varying ranks and gave incriminating evidence against each of them.

"Operation of the Century"

A Boeing-747 on a flight from Rio de Janeiro was a little late at Rome's Fiumicino Airport. As soon as the plane taxied in, an armoured Alfa Romeo was driven up to the ramp. The passengers hastily disembarked, last-minute instructions were given to marksmen who had taken up positions on the observation terrace and Buscetta, escorted by a plainclothes agent, stepped onto the ramp. It was July 13, 1984. After a long hunt, in which the police of seven countries cooperated, the mafioso had been tracked down in Brazil, arrested and brought to Rome.

There was good reason for the heavy security: Buscetta had agreed to give the Italian investigators evidence against the major criminal families of the Italian-American mafia, the Cosa Nostra. The interrogation took two months and by September 10 the authorities had a bulky volume filled with the names of those who controlled organized crime in Italy.

The police put out its dragnet on the night of September 28. Hundreds of warrants for arrest had been issued and several thousand police and carabinieri were involved in the operation. But far from all the suspects were caught. Though the operation had been planned thoroughly and in complete secrecy, some information about it had leaked out, and small wonder: according to the well-known Italian sociologist Pino Arlacchi, who has travelled the world collecting information about the crime syndicate, "today's American or Italian mafioso can be a big-time proprietor or banker, or a leading lawyer." And such people have contacts in many places, including the police....

Yet the Italian press called the action "operation of the century." The suspense in the country was palpable as the Italians waited for the trial to begin. They had to wait some time.

Palermo, February 10, 1986

I will long remember that day. I left my hotel in the centre of the city at about 8 a.m. and headed for the Ucciardone Prison. The scene in the streets was unbelievable. Palermo had never seen so many carabinieri in bulletproof vests with submachine guns at the ready. Armoured personnel carriers were guarding the approaches to the prison and helicopters were hovering overhead. Ucciardone looked like a besieged fortress. Attached to it on one side was a gloomy-looking reinforced-concrete bunker surrounded with a double five-metre-high fence of pointed metal rods. A heavily guarded gap in the fence led into the bunker, built at a cost of 40 billion lire specially for the trial.

The main hall of the bunker, a roomy amphitheatre, had rostrums for the court against the far wall and barred cells along the perimeter for the hundreds of defendants. The more dangerous mafiosi were kept in cells protected with bulletproof glass.

Such a large-scale trial would have seemed incredible in Italy a few years previously but in the early 1980s a feud erupted between rival mafia families. Not only mafiosi but also statesmen, politicians and trade unionists fell victim to hired assassins. Public protests made the authorities take more energetic action and some of the crime syndicate bosses were arrested. One of them was Tommaso Buscetta, known in the mafia as Don Masino, who had been in hiding in Brazil. His evidence enabled the investigators to reconstruct a series of crimes and get a more or less complete picture of mafia operations.

Way back in the early 1950s Buscetta had established connections with the leading mafia families and eventually found himself in the focus of major operations, planned and carried out under the supervision of the supreme commission of the Cosa Nostra. Buscetta's speciality was drugs. He secured reliable markets in Italy, the U.S., Mexico, Brazil and Argentina. But when the mafia families started to feud over power, Buscetta lost out. Settling accounts, his rivals killed virtually all his relatives. Don Masino must have decided to take his revenge by giving evidence for the prosecution.

"Ciancimino Will Do As He Is Told"

"Long before the trial opened, the mafiosi and the political forces behind them had hired 300 lawyers," an official at the Palermo attorney's office told me. "The fee for each of them is at least 100 million lire."

The defendants, aware of this massive backing, are arrogant. They often stage hunger strikes, and refuse to leave their cells for interrogation. "Bring your Don Masino here, let him tell us what he told you to our faces!" the

Mafia Treasurer Pippo Calio bought politicians the way rank-and-file mafiosi bought ammunition.

mafiosi shout at court hearings. Their lawyers pointedly demanded likewise in the presence of their clients. Then the confrontation took place.

"I'm a man of honour.... I'm a mafioso.... And they are all murderers, shameless murderers," said Tommaso Buscetta, pointing to the mafiosi in their cells behind bars.

"Liar, scum," they shouted back at him.

The court is yet to evaluate the evidence of the "man of honour." It is already clear, however, that some of it deserves special attention. For instance, asked by the presiding judge about a relationship between the mafia and politicians, he replied: "Callo told me, 'Stay in Italy, you have every opportunity here, Ciancimino is the mafia's man.' "

Even on the ramp of the plane Tommaso Buscetta was afraid of being shot.

Photos from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.) and Le Nouvel Observateur (France)

In these terms Buscetta described the conversation he had had with Pippo Callo, a mafia boss, in the spring of 1980. Pippo had learned of his friend's plans to leave for Brazil and tried to talk him out of it: "Don't be a fool. Go to Palermo, I'll give you a chance to make a pile and you'll be able to invest it officially. Ciancimino will do what he is told to do." But who is Ciancimino? He was mayor of Palermo and the Christian Democrat leader in Sicily and, evidently, had a hand in the tragic assassination of General Dalla Chiesa, the Palermo police prefect. "One politician wanted to get rid of Dalla Chiesa because the general had become too much of a headache," Buscetta said. The police prefect had become a thorn in the flesh because during his 100 days in office in Palermo he had learned too much about the mafia and its backers in the political community. According to the Italian press, other leading politicians, among them former Defence Minister Attilio Ruffini, member of the European Parliament Salvo Lima, and leading industrialist Nino Salvo, for 30 years a member of the Christian Democratic Party, had connections with the mafia. On the eve of the trial, Salvo died suddenly under suspicious circumstances.

During the confrontation with Buscetta in the courtroom, Pippo Callo naturally denied everything. The two men started a shouting match, hurling abuse and threats at each other.

The Mafia Planned a Coup

May was drawing to a close. The court was hearing the evidence of the defendants, sifting through it and finalizing charges. It is far from easy to sort everything out at such a trial. The interrogations of mafia bosses were given special attention.

Luciano Ligio, or Lucianuccio, was "the prince of the mafia and a soloist in the Cosa Nostra," according to Corriere della Sera.

At first Ligio was arrogant in the courtroom. Even the first words said by him were a warning of what might come: "I've had power in Italian prisons for years, I'm a myth." His calm and confident smile revealed his belief that he was rich enough to cope with any sentence. Ligio's wealth came from drug trafficking and he had ruthlessly brushed aside all competition. Yet Ligio is a millionaire who runs the risk of spending the rest of his life in prison. That was why, as the trial progressed, there appeared new overtones in his statements. "No one believes me," Ligio complained at the trial. "But I did save the homeland! I refused generalship of the mafia and a command of 8,000 men who were to stage a coup and establish a new dictatorship in the country on June 2, 1972, Italy's National Day."

The Trial Goes Into Its Fifth Month

The atmosphere in Palermo has changed now. The streets continue to be patrolled by armed carabinieri, and armoured cars, their sirens wailing, speed through the streets. Armoured personnel carriers, as before, guard the Ucciardone Prison. But the tension has subsided. People seem to have got used to it and quietened down. Yet the peace in the city is deceptive. "It is a fact that the flow of contraband drugs from Palermo to the United States continues even though the trial is on," the Paese Sera of Rome observed.

Traders, who constitute a third of Palermo's population, have had to start paying "protection money" to the mafia again. In May the mafia killed proprietor Francesco Semilia in Palermo in broad daylight: he had refused to pay.

There is one more alarming circumstance. Strange as it may seem, the anti-mafia commission of Italian Parliament has lately markedly scaled down its activities. Pino Arlacchi, mentioned above, pointed to the fact as he tendered his resignation: he had been an adviser to the commission and Italy's representative at the United Nations on drug trafficking control over a number of years. "Since last October the activities of the commission have been virtually paralyzed, first and foremost because of its composition," he said. The weekly L'Espresso explained what he meant: "Arlacchi has a low opinion of the deputies and senators proposed by their parties as members of the anti-mafia commission." The commission's vice-president, for instance, is a Christian Democrat and the Christian Democratic connections with the mafia are of long standing.

Will the mafia ever be eradicated in Italy? What results can be expected from the Palermo trial? I put these questions to the son of General Dalla Chiesa, murdered by the mafia. Nando Dalla Chiesa published a book after the death of his father, in which he tried to expose the "third," political, tier of the mafia in Italy.

"The trial is taking place in one of the mafia's strongholds, and this is in itself very important. Yet I would like to ask my compatriots: how come the mafia emerged in Italy, put down roots there and is now suffocating Italian society? The importance of what is happening in Palermo today is not confined to Sicily alone. The mafia has made inroads into the political community in Rome. It has burrowed deep into banking, tourism and business. Many Italians have been turning a blind eye to the mafia and its crimes for too long. Now the situation seems to be changing. A good deal depends on the outcome of the Palermo trial. I do not think that the trial will be the end of the mafia—but it may well deal it a strong blow."

P. NEGOITSA
Trud Correspondent, exclusive for New Times
Palermo-Rome

TAKING UP A POINT

The Communists maintain that capitalism has spent itself and has no chance in peaceful competition with socialism. Surely you will not deny that we are ahead of you as regards productivity, the quantity and quality of goods produced, and practical application of scientific and technological innovations. Precisely because of this the Soviet Union could seek to make things unpleasant for us under cover of propaganda for peace and disarmament.

Gerald DEXTER
Scarsdale, New York

Historian
VLADIMIR RUBTSOV
replies:

First of all, the question of whether capitalism has exhausted itself or not has no bearing whatsoever on productivity of labour, production of goods, or the latest scientific and technological achievements. What is primarily at issue is the obvious inability of capitalism, notwithstanding its level of development in the spheres you mention, to meet the material and spiritual needs of most of those who live under it.

Were it otherwise, it would hardly occur to anyone to take a critical view of capitalism. The fact is, however, that a great many people, even in the most highly developed capitalist countries, have plenty to complain about, for they are denied the elementary attributes of a decent life.

Don't you think that the crime, violence and hatred that have long been the favourite topics of the Western mass media are to one or another measure a reflection of everyday reality, of the way of life. Of the state of mind of people who cannot find their place in life. Barely literate young people, for instance. Or take the mood among American farmers. Their productivity is high, and so is the technological level of farming. It might seem that the U.S. farmers are in clover. Yet their numbers are declining.

In late spring Newsweek magazine carried a series of articles under the overall heading "The world has an abundance of food—but still too much hunger." Which up to a point provides the answer to the question you raise. The crux of the matter is not the productivity of labour in the capitalist economy but the system of distribution of the products of labour.

The efficiency of production in a given society, it may be said, is the result of the sum total of the efforts of that society—of its researchers and workers, both industrial and agricultural. In a number of branches production has become internationalized, the components of many types of machines and other equipment being manufactured simultaneously in many countries. This amounts in effect to socialization of production on the scale of the entire capitalist world economy. In their drive for profit the employers are reaching out to all corners of the world in search of cheap raw materials and cheap labour. And by doing so they have involuntarily helped to exhaust the reserves capitalism has to draw on.

Socialism is not a threat from without to capitalism. It springs up inside each country as a social necessity. The objective soil for it is created with the active participation of even those who are guided by capitalist ideals. On the eve of the October revolution of 1917 in Russia, Lenin wrote: "But socialism is now gazing at us from all the windows of modern capitalism; socialism is outlined directly, **practically**, by every important measure that constitutes a forward step on the basis of this modern capitalism."

By "modern capitalism" he meant its last stage, that of imperialism with its high degree of concentration of production in the hands of a small group of people, domination by finance capital, and a world-wide system of strangling the independence of countries and peoples. The world wars mankind has experienced were also in a sense "important measures on the basis of this modern capitalism." They too showed the workingman that capitalism as a system had spent itself.

The absence of social justice makes for an atmosphere of violence and enmity which only on the TV screen can provide entertainment for the sated and well-heeled.

Socialism as it has become established in the world, specifically in our country, has successfully outstripped capitalism precisely in the sphere of social justice. This is what makes it attractive to many. Needless to say, the higher the productivity of our labour in all spheres of material and spiritual life, the stronger the material groundwork for social justice under socialism.

For the realization of our development plans we need peace. What we do not need is confrontation with capitalism, the arms race and the escalation of international tension.

I am afraid that everything I have said here may again strike you as sheer propaganda. If so, only time and more objective information will help. Remember the Vietnam war? For a long time many Americans believed that your country was in the right in Indo-China. It was only by the spring of 1975 that their eyes were opened to a great many things.

Not long ago I had occasion to visit Vietnam for the first time. Walking through the streets of Hanoi, Da Nang, and Ho Chi Minh city, formerly Saigon, I recalled the U.S. aggression and how it had been depicted in the U.S. press, radio and television. I could not help comparing what I had seen and heard at the time with the recent reaction of many Americans to the invasion of little Grenada, the bombing of Libya, and to our own misfortune—the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station.

What avalanches of lies have been let loose by the Western mass media around these and other occurrences! For what purpose? In order that you and your compatriots who have overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" should again be caught in the toils of the logic of confrontation with the Soviet Union, with the Communists, with socialism. Who has a stake in this? We know for sure that it is not we. ■

POSTSCRIPT

Toeing the Line

Tokyo officialdom has responded in its own style to the New Zealand government's decision to ban entry to its ports to U.S. ships carrying nuclear weapons. The Nakasone administration has asked New Zealand diplomats in Japan to refrain from giving interviews on the subject as a result of which the embassy has had to deny numerous requests from Japanese public organizations to explain its country's policy with regard to nuclear weapons and nuclear-free zones. As the Far Eastern Economic Review observes, the Japanese authorities are toeing Washington's line. The U.S. is aware that New Zealand's non-nuclear stance could prove contagious.

Overtly Now

It transpires that the Stinger anti-aircraft missiles which Washington now supplies openly to UNITA gangs in Angola, should have been handed over covertly last year, when the appropriate delivery channels were organized. According to UPI, a commercial firm was set up in France to front for the purchase of 50 such missiles from the U.S. and ship them to South Africa via Spain. Another organization, the Société Générale d'Equipment, provided faked shipping documents in Spain for "telecommunication equipment" and dispatched the missiles to South Africa aboard a Panamanian vessel. South Africa immediately transferred $5.8 million in payment to an account in a Spanish bank. However, for technical reasons the ship had to put in at a West African port, where the lethal "telecommunication equipment" was discovered. South Africa had hoped to use the Stingers in Angola, UPI reports. We might add that without White House sanction the export of Stingers from the U.S. is illegal.

Friends—Up to a Point

Israeli leaders never tire of describing the U.S. as their country's "true friend." No wonder, as Israel gets billions of dollars in handouts. Still, this has not deferred Tel Aviv from spying on the U.S., a fact which came to light last November when U.S. naval counter-intelligence officer Pollard was arrested on charges of passing secrets to Israel. At first the Israeli authorities sealed their lips. However, when another spy, this time an Israeli intelligence officer, was apprehended in the U.S. and found to have had connections with Pollard, Tel Aviv got hot under the collar. An Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman denied the reports of Israeli spying. He was not very coherent, however, mumbling that the Pollard incident was a regrettable deviation from Israel's policy, and he failed to mention the Israeli intelligence officer altogether, thus implying by default that the latter really was a spy.

Soaring Crime

Last year crime levels again shot up in the F.R.G. There were 7 per cent more bank raids, 16 per cent more security van holdups, and 20 per cent more strikes at shops than in 1984. Registered thefts caused damages to the tune of 3,160 million marks. The number of stickups in which firearms were used was 10 per cent higher, reaching a total of 7,100. The police recorded 102,000 murders, robberies, kidnaps and other serious crimes. Crime rates are highest amongst young people in the 18-21 age bracket. Mounting unemployment is seen as a major factor.

Goose-Watch

Geese saved Rome in days of yore, the legend goes. According to Time, the U.S. army is now to introduce something similar. Gaggles of geese, it reports, will soon begin guard duty at U.S. military installations in the F.R.G. instead of dogs, thus serving as an early warning system announcing the approach of peace demonstrators to U.S. military bases. Shouldn't this be called gawacs?

Grocery Gold Mine

In our issue No. 21 for this year we noted that a good portion of Washington's handouts to the Nicaraguan contras channelled through Honduras lines the pockets of the military there. The U.S. News and World Report has shed some light on related clandestine operations. Some $4 million went to a small Tegucigalpa grocer to be split between contras ringleaders and Honduran military.

Drawings
by V. Trinchenko

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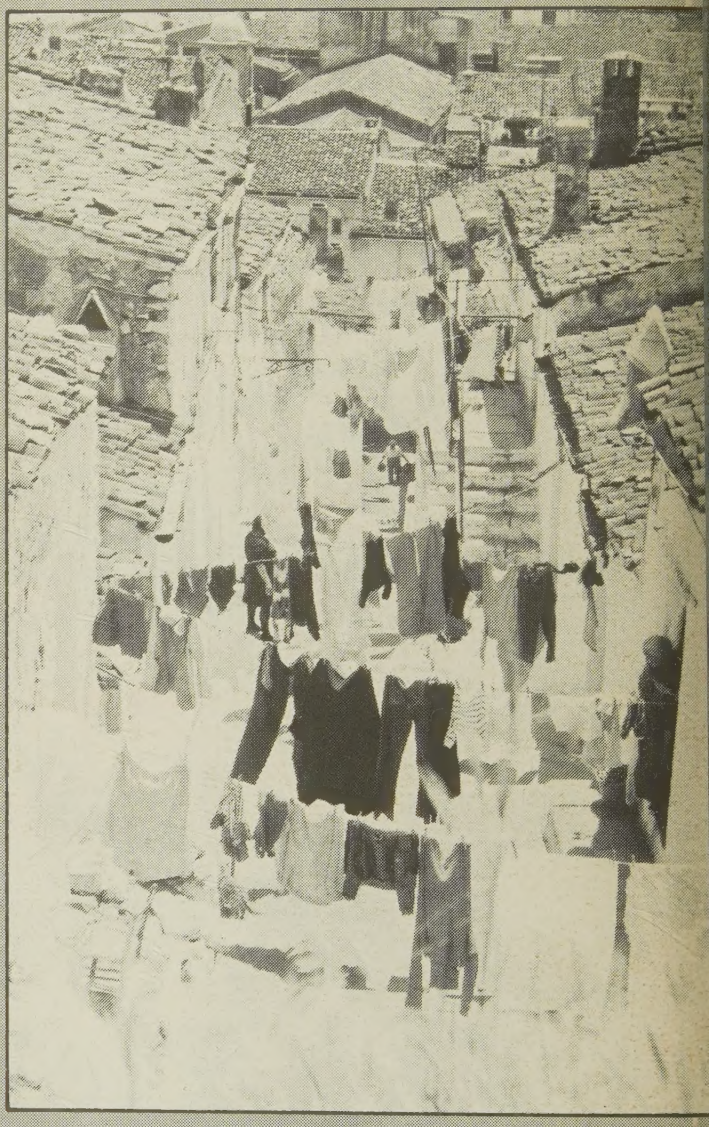

INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

PHOTO AND GRAPHICS CONTEST

We invite both professional and amateur photographers and artists to take part in our traditional contest.

Photos or picture stories, black and white, not less than 13×18 cm in size, as well as graphics of every type are accepted. Each entry should have a brief annotation and the full name and address of the sender.

Please address entries to **"Photo Contest,"** New Times, Pushkin Square, Moscow GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R.

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